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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar

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“A BOKE OF BALETTES” AND “THE COURTE OF VENUS”

BY REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH AND ROBERT ADGER LAW

The London *Times Literary Supplement* has recently printed several articles in its correspondence columns concerning the fragment of a sixteenth-century book by chance preserved in the binding of a copy of Robinson's translation of More's *Utopia* (1551), now in the Miriam L. Stark Collection of the University of Texas Library. On July 5, 1928, Professor Griffith first called attention to this fragment, describing the volume and the four pages of black-letter printing bound with it. The running title of these four pages is “A Boke of Balettes,” and they contain three complete and two incomplete poems, parts of which unfortunately are so frayed that certain lines are now illegible. The very name once attached to this collection of supposedly sixteenth-century English poems has been forgotten in the intervening centuries, and no one seems to know anything of the circumstances of its original publication. But in reprinting several of the poems in his letter to the *Times* Mr. Griffith identified one as a variant of Sir Thomas Wyatt's well-known song, “My pen, take pain,” and he called on his readers for help in identifying other poems and the “Boke.”

In the next succeeding issue of the *Times Literary Supplement*, Mr. E. M. Tillyard, writing from Oxford, identified one of the fragments printed by Dr. Griffith as the latter portion of Wyatt's poem, “If fansy would favor,” and further expressed a tentative opinion that the two others printed, “Shall she neuer out of my mind” and “Loue whome ye lyst,” might both have been written by Wyatt.

On December 26, 1929, Professor Law wrote further in the same journal to the effect that “Loue whome ye lyst” was probably an enlarged version by Wyatt of his lines,

"Hate whome ye lyst," that the last fragmentary poem, unprinted by Dr. Griffith, was a version of Wyatt's "My lute, awake, perfourme the last," and that the entire *Boke of Balettes* might be the first edition of *The Courte of Venus*, a sixteenth century anthology, now preserved only in two unique fragments apparently of the second edition.

Finally, Professor Griffith pointed out differences in the text of the *Boke* and the *Courte*, as described by Mrs. Stopes, which clearly show that the two are not fragments of the same book. They differ not only in words and spelling, but also in the running title, in the sequence of the poems, and in the way in which the same matter falls on different pages. Yet in the unique fragment of the *Courte*, formerly in the Britwell Court Library, now in the library of Mr. H. C. Folger, appear every one of the five poems to be found in the Stark fragment of the *Boke of Balettes*.¹

Since the text of each of these poems presents some interesting variants, and one of them consists of five stanzas, as opposed to the one stanza existing in the Folger or Bright fragment, parallel texts are given below. The binding is a very old tooled calf; the interior back strip, or "super," is from an old parchment manuscript; and here and there on blank pages is a handwriting that probably belongs to the sixteenth century. The poems are on two printed leaves which the binder used for end-papers at the back instead of the customary blank leaves. One leaf seems to be numbered 44; the other would be 45, but the number is gone with the badly worn margin. The text of the poems, with parallels, follows:

¹For further accounts of the *Courte of Venus*, see Tyrwhitt, T., ed., *The Canterbury Tales*, London, 1775, 5 vols., Vol. 1, pp. xv-xvii, Furnivall, F. J., ed., *Animadversions*, by Francis Thynne, Chaucer Society, Ser. 2, vol. 13, 1875 (reprinted 1891), pp. 75-98, 127, 138-141; Foxwell, A. K., ed., *Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, University of London Press, 1913, 2 vols., Vol. I, pp. xi, 357-360, and Vol. II, pp. 171-175; Stopes, Mrs. C. C., *Shakespeare's Industry*, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1916, pp. 291 ff., especially pp. 325-333.

BOKE OF BALETTES

COURTE OF VENUS

Stopes, p. 329

.....
The fantasy of my harte
That may me only ease,
And helpe my careful smarte

Therefore my lady dere
Let se your fantasye
To make some hope appeare
Of helpe and remedy

For if ye be my frende
And vndertake my wo
My grefe is at an ende
Yf ye continew so

Els fantasy doth not ryght
As I deserve and shall
To haue her day and night
To loue me best of all

Finis

Yet gladdely would I please,
the fansy of her hert;
That may me only ease,
and cure my carefull smart.

Therefore my Lady dere,
Set ons your fantasy,
to make som hope appere,
of stedfaste remedy.

For if he be my frend,
and undertake my woo,
My grief is at an ende,
if he continue so.

Ellse fansy doth not right,
as I deserue and shall,
To haue you daye and night,
to loue me best of all.

Stopes, p. 330

L[oue] w[home ye] lyst and spare
not

Therwith I am content
Hate whom ye lyst and spare not
For euen I am indifferent

Do what ye lyst and dred not
After your owne fantasy
Thinke what you lyst and fere not

For all is one to me

For as for me I am not
Wauering as the wynde
But euen as one that reketh not
Which way ye turne your mynde

For in your loue I doubt not
But as one that reketh not
Whether yon hate or hate not
In lest charge of my thou

Love whom you lyst and spare not

Therwyth I am content,
Hate whom you lyst and spare not,
For I am indyfferent.

Do what you lyst and dread not,
After your own fantasye,
Thynke what you lyst and feare
not,

For al is one with me.

For as for me I am not,
Wauering as the wind,
But even as one that reketh not,
Wych way you turn your mind.

For in your love I doubt not,
But as one that reketh not,
Whether you hate or hate not,
Is least charge of my thought.

BOKE OF BALETTES

Wherefore I pray you forget not
 But that I am well contente
 To loue whom ye lyst and spare
 not

For I am indyfferent

Finis

Shall she neuer out of my mynde
 Nor shall I neuer out of this payn

Alas her loue doth me so blinde
 Except her helpe I am now slayne.

I neuer told her of my mynde
 What payne I suffer for her sake
 Alas what meanes might I now
 find
 That no displeasure with me she
 take

Yf I speake fayre she sayth I
 [flatter?]
 And if I do not I shall not spede
 Yf I to her to wryte a letter
 Then wyll she say she can not
 rede

Shall I despayre yet for all this
 Nay nay my hart will not do so
 I wold ones my swete hart kys
 A thousand times to bynd more wo

I am abashed when I shuld speake
 Alas I can not my mind expresse
 Yt maketh my hart in peces breake
 To se her louing gentelnes Finis

COURTE OF VENUS

Wherefore I pray you forget not,
 But that I am wel content,
 To love whom you list and spare
 not,

For I am indifferent.

Stopes, p. 332

Shal she never out of my mind
 Nor shal I never out of my
 payne

Alas her joye doth so bind
 For lacke of helpe now am I
 slayn²

Stopes, pp. 325-6

My penne take payne a . . .

To folowe the thing . . .

My penne, take payne a lytle
 space,
 to folow the thing that doth me
 chase,

²Mrs. Stopes notes that "The fragment ends here."

BOKE OF BALETTES

And hold my harte so . . .
And when thou hast . . .

My pen, I pray the write no . . .

Remembre thou hast oft ple . . .
And my sorowes also eased

But now unknowen I kne . . .
That where I trust I am de . . .
ued
And yet my pen thou canst . . .
more

A time thou haddest as other
h . . .
To wryte which way my h . . .

That time is past withdra . . .

Hens we do lose let other sa . . .
As good leaue of, and writ . . .

. . . to worke an . . .
.
For els . . .
And my desyre is my decay

To loue in vayne who so euer
Of worldly payne it passeth all
As in lyke case I find wherfore
To hold so fast and yet to fall
Alak my pen now wryte no more

Syns thou hast taken payne this
space
To folow that which doth the
chase
And hath in holde my hert so sore

COURTE OF VENUS

and hath in hold my hart so sore,
And when thow hast this
browghte to passe;

My pen I praye the wryte no
more.

Remember oft thow hast me eaysyd,
and all my payne full well
apeaysyd,

but now I know, unknowen before,
for where I trust I am dyscevyd,

and yet my penne thou canst
no more.

Atyme thow haddyst as other
have,

to wryghte whyche way my hope
to craue,

that tyme ys past, withdrawe
therffore

Syns we do lose that other saue,
as good leue off and wryghte
no more

Yn worthe to me another waye,
Not as we wold but as we maye,
for ons my losse is past Restore,
and my desyre is my decaye,
my pen yet wryghte a lytell
more.

To love in vayn who ever shall,
off worldlye payn it passeth all,
as in lyke case I fynd, wherfore
to hold so fast, and yet to fall,
Alas my pen, now wryghte no
more.

Syns thow hast taken payn this
space,
to folow that whych doth me
chase,
and hath in hold my hart so sore,

BOKE OF BALETTES

And now thou hast this brought
to passe

. . . I pray the write no more

Finis

. . . wake perfourme the last
. . . hat thou and I shall wast

. . . at I have new begonne

. . . his song is sung & paste

. haue done.

. . . arde wh . . . e eare is none

. . . graue in marble stone

. . . ng may perce her hart as
sone

. . . we then syng wepe or mone

. . . my lute for I haue done

. . . oth not so cruelly

. . . continually

. . . nd effeccion

. . . past all remedy

. . . lute and I haue done

. . . ene that . . .

. . . through loues shot

. . . ugh thou hast them wone

. . . he hath his bow forgot

. . . though my lute and I haue
done

Vengeance may fall on such dis-
dayne

That maketh but game o fernest
payne

COURTE OF VENUS

now hast thow brought my mynde
to passe,

my pen, I praye the wryghte no
more.

Stopes, p. 326

My lute awake performe the last
Labour that thou and I shall
wast,

And end that I haue now begone
For when this song is gon and
past,

My lute be stil for I haue done.

As to be herd where ere is none,
As lede to graue in marble stone,
My song may perse her hert as
sone,

Should we then sigh or sing or
mone,

No mo, my Lute for I haue
done.

The Rokkes do not so cruelly,

Repulse the waves continually,

As she my sute and affection,

So that I am past remedy,

Whereby my lute and I haue
done.

Prowd of the spoyll that thow
hast gott,

Of simple hertes, thorough love's
shot,

By whome unkynd thou hast them
wone

Thinck not he hath his bow forgot,

All tho my lute and I haue
done.

Vengeance shall fall on thy dis-
daine,

That makest but game on earnest
pain,

BOKE OF BALETTES

. . . true not alone vnder the
sunne

Ungentyllly to cause the louers
payne

Although my lute and I haue done

[This stanza lacking.]

And then may chaunce the to
repent

The time that thou hast lost and
spent

[The rest is lacking.]

COURTE OF VENUS

Thinck not alone under the sunne,

Unquyt to cause thy louers plain,

All tho my lute and I haue
done.

Perchance the lye wethered and
old,

The wynter nyghts that are so
cold,

Thy wisshes then dare not be told,
Plaining in vain unto the mone

Care then who lyst, for I haue
done.

And then may chaunce the to re-
pent,

The tyme that thou hast lost and
spent,

To cause thy louers sygh and
swone,

Then shalt thou knowe, beaultie
but lent,

And wisshe and want as I haue
done.

Now cesse my lute, this is the
last,

Labor that thou and I shall wast,
And ended is that we begon,

Now is this song boeth song and
past,

My lute be still for I haue done.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Poem 1 is the latter portion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's poem, "If Fanny would favor," Foxwell, *op. cit.*, I, 96-97. The quotation begins here with the sixth stanza. Variations between the text of Miss Foxwell and that given by Mrs. Stopes from the *Courte* are chiefly in capitalization.

In the Stark version note that the personal pronouns are changed in the first, third, and fourth stanzas; that "helpe" appears for

"cure" in the final line of the first stanza; and that the meaningless "Set ons" in the second stanza, second line, is replaced by "Let se." For "stedfaste," Foxwell reads "stedfastness"; "helpe and" fits better both sense and rhythm.

Poem 2 is reprinted by Miss Foxwell in her Notes, Vol. II, pp. 174-175, from the *Courte*. In Volume I appears the shorter and better known version, "Hate whom ye list," which is again reprinted in Hebel and Hudson's recent *Poetry of the English Renaissance*, p. 21, without notice of the enlarged poem. The latter Miss Foxwell seems hesitant to attribute to Wyatt, but Mrs. Stopes shows no skepticism. Variations between *Courte* and *Boke* in this case are practically all in the spelling.

Poem 3 has heretofore existed only in the one stanza of the *Courte* and has not been attributed to Wyatt. The addition of the present four stanzas makes out a better case for him, both in the clever turns of the third and fifth stanzas, and in the language of the entire poem. The simplicity and purity of the diction are much in his style, while meter and rime words resemble his known poems.

Poem 4 in the Stark fragment has suffered much from fraying but the variant "els" for "ons" in the fourth stanza and "the" for "me" in the sixth stanza are worth noting.

Poem 5 is one of the favorite lyrics of Wyatt and is frequently reprinted. The fifth stanza presents the most significant variants. Preference is certainly with "may" and "such" in the first line, with "of" in the second and with "Ungentlylly" in the fourth as against the corresponding readings of the *Courte*. The first word in the third line of that stanza may well be a misprint for "Striue" in place of "Thinck" or "Trow" as other versions have it. The omission of the very pretty sixth stanza from the *Boke* is not easy to understand.

The importance of the Stark fragment, then, seems to be two-fold. First, it gives evidence of the existence of a collection of lyric poems possibly earlier than *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), and then it presents new readings of the text of at least two of Wyatt's poems and possibly four new stanzas of a third poem. If these claims are justified by future editors of Wyatt, we must thank a lazy bookbinder of about 1550 for using printed sheets found in his office instead of clean white paper in binding Robinson's *Utopia*.

THE PLOT-STRUCTURE OF "THE COMEDY OF "ERRORS" IN RELATION TO ITS SOURCES

BY ERMA M. GILL

Introduction

The Comedy of Errors is based primarily on the Latin comedy of Plautus, the *Menaechmi*, and secondarily on the *Amphitruo* of the same author. A third source seems to have contributed to the frame work, "Apollonius of Tyre," a popular story from the *Gesta Romanorum*.

Professor W. A. Neilson, in a brief introduction to *The Comedy of Errors* (1906), says with reference to the use of the Latin plays:

Little of detail is drawn from Plautus, the most noticeable borrowings being the humorous treatment of the conjurer, the frequent thrashings of Dromio, and the reproof administered by the abbess to Adriana, which resembles the remarks addressed to Mulier by Senex.¹

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, in his introduction to the new Cambridge edition of *The Comedy of Errors*, quotes Coleridge in *Literary Remains* as calling the play "a legitimate farce in exactest consonance with the philosophical principles and character of farce, as distinguished from comedy and entertainments . . . the high water mark of elaborate farce in its highest signification." Sir Arthur adds:

It might (though we doubt it) have come near to deserve such praise had Shakespeare not set his artificial farce between the romantic-realism of the distressed merchant, with which he opens and of the long-lost wife reclaimed, with which he concludes. . . . But, as yet, farce and romance were not one "form" but two separate stools; and between them in *The Comedy of Errors* he fell to the ground.²

Professor Allison Gaw, in his recent discussion of *The Comedy of Errors*, agrees neither with Professor Neilson

¹Neilson, W. A., ed., *The Complete Dramatic and Poetic Works of William Shakespeare*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 32.

²New Cambridge edition, pp. xxi-xxii.

in his opinion of the relation of Shakespeare's play to the Latin sources, nor with Sir Arthur in his estimate of the dramaturgic qualities of the play. On the use of Plautus as a source he says:

In general, editors of the *Comedy of Errors* give a somewhat misleading statement of the relationship of these two sources to the Shakespearean play. They say that the plot of the *Errors* is practically that of the *Menaechmi* with the addition of a scene borrowed from the *Amphitruo*, and some add that the idea of the Dromios also comes from the *Amphitruo*. A fairer statement would be that the two plots have been combined to the marked modification of both and have also been very considerably amplified.³

He then makes the following points:

(1) The doubled principal characters are central to both plays; the doubled servants from the *Amphitruo* are superimposed upon the *Menaechmi* plot. (2) Mercury's exclusions of Sosia in Act I and of Amphitruo in Act III are combined in the *Comedy of Errors* in III.i, with a shifting of scene from the house of the courtesan to that of the wife and a subordinating of the courtesan.⁴ (3) There is an echo of the Jupiter-Amphitruo relation in *Errors*, V.i, 332-4:

One of these men is *genius* to the other:
And so of these, which is the natural man,
And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

(4) The Latin plots have been ethically cleansed and re-motivated.⁵

³Gaw, Allison, "The Evolution of the *Comedy of Errors*," *P. M. L. A.*, September, 1926, p. 625. Hereafter referred to as "Gaw."

⁴Cf. Gill, Erma M., "A Comparison of the Characters in *The Comedy of Errors* with those in the *Menaechmi*," *Texas Studies in English*, No. 5, 1925, pp. 90-94.

⁵Gaw lists these details of moral remotivation: (1) Adriana's jealousy is baseless; her husband goes to the courtesan's and takes her the chain only in exasperation at being shut out. (2) Antipholus of Syracuse, unlike Menaechmus II, is thoroughly honest; (3) Antipholus of Ephesus willingly returns the ring to the courtesan. I made these points in my study of the characters in this play, 1925—although I am not convinced that Adriana's jealousy was entirely unjustified.

He lists the following new plot elements:

(1) Dromio of Ephesus has been provided with a wife to parallel the wife of Antipholus of Ephesus and to mistake the second Dromio for the first. (2) Luciana has been added as a foil to Adriana and prospective wife to Antipholus of Syracuse. (3) A new complication has been created through Angelo, the goldsmith, whose delivery of the chain to the wrong Antipholus and demand for the money from the brother adds to the complexity of the plot. A second merchant, to whom Angelo is indebted, motivates Angelo's action. (4) The framework is new.⁶

⁶Gaw, pp. 625-629. Cf. "Zwei neuentdeckte Shakespearenquellen," *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1870, pp. 87ff., where, in an article which seems to have been lost sight of, Paul Wislicenus pointed out the following facts:

The framework of the *Comedy of Errors* is like "Apollonius of Tyre" and *Pericles* in the storm, the separation of the family, the mother's becoming an abbess, and the happy reunion.

Twin servants have been added to the *Menaechmi*.

The dinner has been changed from the courtesan's to the wife's.

The *Amphitruo* serves as a source for the *Comedy of Errors* in the following scenes:

(1) *Amph.* I.i. The quarrel between Mercury and Sosia. IV.iii. The quarrel between Mercury and Amphitruo . . . *C. of E.* III.i. The dinner scene.

(2) *Amph.* II.i. Sosia's doubt of his identity . . . *C. of E.* III.iii. Dromio's doubt of his identity.

(3) *Amph.* II.iii. Quarrel between Alcmena and Amphitruo . . . *C. of E.* IV.iv and V.i. Quarrel between Adriana and her husband.

(4) *Amph.* III.iii. Sosia's mistaking Jupiter for his master . . . *C. of E.* I.ii Dromio of Ephesus' mistake as to Antipholus of Syracuse, and similar situations (not listed).

(5) Amphitruo's beating Sosia for Mercury . . . Similar situations in *C. of E.*

Wislicenus notes the following differences between *C. of E.* and *Men.*:

"Erstens steht der einheimische Antipholus in *keinem* verbotenen Verhältniss zur *courtisane*: die Eifersucht seiner verliebten Frau ist *ungerechtfertigt*. Die Leichtsinn des Römers hat ein germanisches Sittenrochen übergezogen." (The italics are his.) He notes also that Shakespeare has made from the father a sister, "eine zarte Folie zu der leidenschaftlichen Adriana" and a wife for the unmarried brother.

Professor Gaw thinks more highly of the dramatic structure of *The Comedy of Errors* than Sir Arthur does. He calls the play "an amazingly skillful piece of plot joinery."⁷

That "the two plots have been combined to the marked modification of both and have also been considerably amplified," it will be my aim in this paper to prove, not by a mere statement of the outstanding relations of the three plays to each other, such as has been made by Wislicenus, Gaw, and some critics intermediate between these two, but by a study of the many details in Shakespeare's play "drawn from Plautus," of which Professor Neilson denies the existence and which have not been pointed out before. Furthermore, I shall try to prove that the two Latin plots are more thoroughly fused than has been suspected before, and to show something of Shakespeare's methods of making use of his materials in this play, as well as to give in detail Shakespeare's additions.

Skeleton Analyses

A glance at the following skeleton tables will show that Shakespeare follows the pattern of the *Menaechmi* fairly well, though he makes new combinations, while, with material from the *Amphitruo* which strikes his fancy, he makes still further combinations and new designs. The tables are given in full on the following pages.

⁷Gaw (pp. 620-629) claims for the frame-plot the following five dramaturgic functions: (1) As organic exposition it has an advantage over the extraneous dramatic monologue of Plautus. (2) It promotes unity, gives a firm beginning and a firm, definite, and massive ending, and increases the effectiveness of the play by its contrast with the main plot. (3) By its tone of romantic tragi-comedy it combines with other elements in the English play and lifts the Plautine farce into an atmosphere of greater dignity. (4) It increases the general happiness of the ending. (5) The effectiveness of the conclusion is enhanced by the element of surprise in the revelation of the identity of Aemilia. Cf. Baker, G. P., *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, Boston, 1907, p. 135.

I

<i>C. of E.</i>	<i>Scenes and Acts in the "Menaechmi" from Which Material Is Used</i>
I.i -----	Argument, Prologue, II.i.
I.ii -----	II.i, II.ii, II.iii, V.i.
II.i -----	V.i, V.ii.
II.ii -----	II.i, II.ii, II.iii, V.ii.
III.i -----	I.ii, I.iii, IV.ii.
III.ii -----	III.ii, V.iii.
IV.i -----	II.i, IV.iii.
IV.ii -----	-----
IV.iii -----	II.iii, IV.iii, V.v.
IV.iv -----	V.i, V.ii, V.iii, V.iv, V.ii.
V -----	V.ii, V.v, V.vii, V.ix, II.i.

II

<i>C. of E.</i>	<i>Scenes and Acts in the "Amphitruo" from Which Material Is Used</i>
I.ii -----	II.i, II.ii, III.iii.
II.ii -----	I.i, II.ii, III.i, IV.i.
III.i -----	I.i, II.i, IV.i, IV.ii, IV.iii.
III.ii -----	II.ii.
IV.i -----	III.iii.
IV.iv -----	II.ii.
V -----	II.ii, V.i.

In this paper, in addition to pointing out the extent to which Shakespeare has drawn on the Latin plays for his plot, I shall make an analysis of the play, scene by scene, showing how carefully the plot is motivated, how the various lines of action are combined, and how definitely the entanglement grows and is resolved. Heretofore the discussion of the plot-structure has centered chiefly on the enveloping action and its relation to the main plot.

The Latin Sources of the Play

Whether Shakespeare knew enough Latin to go to the Latin sources directly, or whether he used some intermediary source is still an unsettled question. There may of course have been translations of Plautus which have been lost and of which we find no mention, but the only translation of the *Menaechmi* that we know of is the "W. W."

translation, published in 1595, as elsewhere mentioned. We know nothing of an English translation of the *Amphitruo* before that of Echard in 1694. *A New Enterlude for Chyldren to Playe, named Jacke Jugeler, both wytee and very playsant. Newly Imprented*, 1563, is based on the Sosia-Mercury relation in the *Amphitruo*, omitting entirely the Jupiter-Amphitruo-Alcmena plot; but there is no evidence of Shakespeare's use of this play as a source.⁸ We have no real reason for believing that the *Historie of Error*, entered in the Accounts of the Revels for 1576/77, was based on Plautus, and less reason for believing that a *Historie of Ferrar*, played in 1582, had any connection with Shakespeare's play. The title of the latter and the "one Battlement of Canvas," together with the "one City" and "sondrey other things" mentioned in the Accounts seem to indicate a "Chronicle History." And what would the actors in our play do with the "x paire of gloves"? But even if the *Historie of Error* should have been a play based on Plautus, and even though Shakespeare might have used the play, I believe that he knew Plautus. In no other way can I account for the thorough acquaintance with the Latin which *The Comedy of Errors* indicates. If Shakespeare revised an old play, his work as refurbisher of that play must have set him to reading or re-reading the Plautine plays.

Of course there is still the possibility of translations which have disappeared. But why should we hesitate to believe that Shakespeare could read the original? Although the Cambridge editors argue for the old play as a source, Sir Arthur says:

⁸*The Birth of Hercules*, written about ten years after *The Comedy of Errors*, follows Plautus' *Amphitruo* rather closely, but adds a second servant, Dromio, and a subplot, the love affair of Sosia and the maid, Thessala. See *The Birth of Hercules*, Malone Reprints, ed. Bond, R. W., 1911. That the *Amphitruo* was one of the best known of Plautus' plays is proved by the many reworkings and imitations of it in various languages. See *Plautus, Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*, Reinhard-Stoettner, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 125-229.

For our part, it lays no strain upon us to believe that the "small Latin" put into Shakespeare at the Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School included a play or so of Plautus, the trick of whose Latin is easier to master than that of Homeric Greek to which, at age of eleven and under, one of the present editors underwent promotion straight from an Attic grammar.⁹

Professor Joseph Q. Adams thinks that Shakespeare was probably a schoolmaster before he went up to London, and that *The Comedy of Errors* may have been written before any of his other plays, possibly for his boys to act, and afterward revised for the performance at Gray's Inn in 1594. He quotes Aubrey as having jotted down in the margin opposite "from Mr. Beeston":

Though, as Ben Jonson says of him, that he had but little Latin and less Greek, he understood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country.

Adams' theory is a very interesting and ingenious one, but, after all, it is only a conjecture. Yet Shakespeare must have had some knowledge of Plautus. Latin comedy was in the air, and he could hardly have escaped it, even though he was not a university man.¹⁰ The school at Stratford was a good school, an endowed one, the master of which was a B.A. of Oxford, and there is no proof that Shakespeare was taken out of school before he reached the age at which he might have read these plays.¹¹

But whatever may have been Shakespeare's method of assimilating his sources, he has so changed the original plays that Plautus would doubtless shudder at the English-

⁹New Cambr. ed., p. xii.

¹⁰Professor T. W. Baldwin has called my attention to the fact that the British Museum has only a little more than half of the early editions of Plautus. He writes: "You will find a complete list of early printed editions of Plautus in Friderici Ritschelii *Opuscula Philologica*, Lipsiae, 1868, volume II, pp. 34ff. There are forty-one distinct editions up to 1610, many of which, however, were themselves several times reprinted."

¹¹Adams, J. Q., *A Life of William Shakespeare*, Boston, 1923, pp. 92-95. William Beeston was the son of Christopher Beeston, a member of Shakespeare's company.

man's tampering with the classical unity of plot, while the romantic Elizabethan would applaud the additional fun and the added plot interest. The *Menaechmi* furnished Shakespeare with the woof of his plot, but into this he has woven elements of the *Amphitruo* and characters and episodes of his own.

Summaries of the "Menaechmi" and the "Amphitruo"

The facts will be best brought out by giving at this point summaries of the two Latin plays:

(1) *Menaechmi*

The prologue of the *Menaechmi*¹² gives the following information: A merchant of Syracuse had twin sons, so much alike that neither their foster mother, who nourished them, nor their own mother could tell them apart. When they were seven years old the father took one of the boys with him on a business trip to Tarentum. The child, separated from his father in the games which chanced to be taking place, was found by a merchant of Epidamnus, who took the child home, brought him up as his own son, married him to a rich wife, and died, leaving the boy his property. The boy's own father grieved so at the loss of his child that he died within a few days after his son's disappearance. The name of the son who had been left at home with his mother was changed by his grandfather from Sosicles to that of the lost child, Menaechmus. When Menaechmus grew up, he went with his slave Messenio to search for his lost brother, and, when the play begins, has just come to Epidamnus, the very town in which his brother lives. The scene of the play is a street upon which opens the house of Menaechmus of Epidamnus, with the house of a courtesan near by. Following some texts, I shall call the original Menaechmus, who was lost, Menaechmus I, and

¹²The *Prologue*, or at least part of it, is post-Plautine. Cf. T. Macci Plauti *Comoediae*, ed. Lindsay, W. M., Oxford, no date. Prol., l. 3. All line references to the *Menaechmi* in this study are to the Lindsay text.

the brother who has been given his name and who has lately arrived in Epidamnus, Menaechmus II.

Act I. Peniculus the parasite, hoping to be invited to a meal, is waiting for Menaechmus I, who comes out of his house, berating his wife for her jealousy, and carrying a mantle, stolen from his wife, to be given to Erotium, the courtesan. He goes with Peniculus to Erotium's house, gives her the garment, and asks that breakfast be prepared for the three of them by the time that he and Peniculus return from the Forum. Erotium sends Cylindrus, the cook, for provisions.

Act II. Menaechmus II and his slave Messenio, newly arrived at Epidamnus, are talking of their six-year search for the lost brother, when Cylindrus, returning from market, takes Menaechmus II for his twin and tells him that breakfast will soon be ready. He asks Menaechmus about the other guest, Peniculus. Menaechmus II thinks Cylindrus crazy, but Messenio thinks this some trick to get Menaechmus' money. Erotium comes out of the house, affectionately urges Menaechmus to come in, and mentions the mantle. Menaechmus is astonished at her knowledge of his name, and, in spite of Messenio's protests and warnings, decides to accept the breakfast so unexpectedly provided. Erotium asks him to take the cloak to the embroiderer's for alteration so that his wife will not recognize it. He willingly promises to do this and sends Messenio to the inn, with instructions to meet him before sunset.

Act III. Peniculus, coming from the Forum, complains that Menaechmus I had slipped away from him. At this instant Menaechmus II comes from Erotium's house, with the mantle. Peniculus accuses Menaechmus II of cheating him out of his breakfast, and, angered further at Menaechmus II's assertion that he does not know him, the parasite goes away swearing revenge. Erotium's maid brings to Menaechmus II a bracelet to be mended for her mistress, and he thinks himself lucky in getting a breakfast, a mantle, and jewelry for nothing.

Act IV. Peniculus has told Menaechmus I's wife about her husband's theft of the mantle, and when Menaechmus I returns, encourages her to abuse her husband and to demand her mantle. Menaechmus at first boldly pretends ignorance of the whole matter, but finally admits that he has "loaned" the mantle to "someone" and promises to bring it back. His wife tells him that he shall not enter the house until he keeps his word, and angrily shuts the door in his face. He goes off to Erotium's house, which, he says, is a better place for him than his own home. When he asks her to return the cloak, promising her a far handsomer one, she becomes indignant and insists that she has already given him the garment. She didn't ask him for it in the first place, she snaps out, and if he's going to act like this he needn't come back—and another door is shut in his face.

Act V. Menaechmus II, coming along with the mantle, is accosted by his brother's wife and accused of the misconduct of her husband. When he denies any knowledge of what she is talking about, she sends for her father. At first the old man takes his son-in-law's part, scolding his daughter for her nagging and continual surveillance of her husband's affairs, but admitting that it is wrong for the husband to take his wife's jewelry and clothes to give to another woman. Menaechmus II's violent denial that he has a wife or that he lives in this house makes the father think him mad. Then Menaechmus II, accused of madness, counterfeits it, threatening to burn the wife's eyes out and to tear the father-in-law to pieces. They are terrified; the wife runs into the house, and the old man goes for a doctor. But Menaechmus II runs away, and it is Menaechmus I that the father finds when he returns with the physician. Their servants are trying to bind the indignant Menaechmus I when Messenio comes, and rescues his master, as he thinks. He asks for his freedom, and Menaechmus replies that so far as he is concerned his rescuer is a free man. Messenio is grateful and says that he will immediately bring the baggage and the money, leaving Menaechmus bewildered, but

quite willing to take the money. When Messenio returns, however, Menaechmus I has gone to Erotium's house to ask again for the cloak, and Messenio finds his master, who denies that he has been rescued or has promised his slave his liberty. Just then the twin brother comes out of Erotium's house, the two brothers are brought face to face, and Messenio sees that his master's search is at an end. He puts questions to each of the brothers in turn, and their answers prove their relationship. So alike are they that Messenio himself cannot tell which is his master. Menaechmus I decides to sell his possessions and return with his brother to his native land. Messenio is given his freedom and is promised the job of auctioneer when Menaechmus I's property is put up for sale. The play ends with Messenio's calling for a bid for the nagging wife.

(2) *Amphitruo*¹³

The play begins in the night. In the Prologue Mercury explains that his father, Jupiter, has fallen in love with Alcmena, the wife of Amphitruo, the victorious Theban general, who is now on his way home. Jupiter has taken upon himself the form of Amphitruo and is now within the house, having been joyfully received by Alcmena as her husband. Mercury himself is disguised as Sosia, Amphitruo's slave. But that the audience may tell the doubles apart, Mercury wears on his hat a little plume, and Jupiter wears on his a golden tassel. These ornaments are not visible to Amphitruo or the members of his household, and Mercury promises to create great confusion, which will be set right in the end by his father.

Act I. Amphitruo has sent Sosia on ahead of him to announce his arrival in port. But Sosia, rehearsing to himself the story of the battle so that he may impress his mistress with his own as well as his master's bravery—though he is a great coward himself—comes upon his double, Mercury, in front of the house. Poor Sosia is frightened,

¹³All line references in this study to the *Amphitruo* are to the Oxford edition edited by Lindsay.

beaten, and sent away bewildered by this person who claims to be Sosia and says that Amphytruo is within. Just before dawn Jupiter and Alcmena come from the house, Jupiter telling her that he must hasten back to the army before his absence is discovered, lest they think he puts his wife before the public welfare. She is hurt at his immediate departure, but Jupiter pacifies her by giving to her the trophy which has been presented to him by the army—the golden cup of the conquered king, which has really been given to Amphytruo.

Act II. It is now morning, and Amphytruo arrives with Sosia. He thinks that his slave is either impudently joking or is drunk when he tells him of the other Sosia, and the general hastens on to his wife, who is coming out of the door. Alcmena is delighted to see him returning so soon, but thinks that he must be making fun of her when he greets her as he naturally would after a long absence, and he, in turn, is hurt at her failure to greet him as he expects her to do. She insists that he has just left her and repeats to him the account of the battle,—as told to her by Jupiter,—mentioning the cup. Sosia thinks that he has the cup in a sealed box, but he and his master are astonished to find the box empty and to see that Alcmena really has the cup. Amphytruo talks of sorcery and accuses his wife of unchastity. He goes to get her kinsman, who has been on the ship with him, and who will testify to Alcmena that her husband has not been at home during the night.

Act III. In a very short time Jupiter (as Amphytruo) returns to make his peace with Alcmena by telling her that he has been joking with her. His (or Amphytruo's) accusation has hurt her deeply, but she finally forgives him and goes to prepare the vessels for the sacrifice which he must make upon returning home. Sosia appears and is sent away by Jupiter to invite Blepharo, the pilot of Amphytruo's ship, to breakfast, but Jupiter explains to the audience that Blepharo will be fooled and will not get the

breakfast to which he is invited. Jupiter then follows Alcmena into the house, leaving Mercury to drive away the real master and slave.

Act IV. When Amphitruo himself returns, after looking in vain for the kinsman, he finds his door locked and his slave, as he supposes, though it is Mercury, on the housetop, reviling him for pretending to be Amphitruo when Amphitruo is in the house with his wife. Here there is a gap in the manuscript accepted as genuine, but in lines that are now called spurious,¹⁴ Sosia returns with Blepharo, who tries to straighten out the tangle first between Sosia and his master and then between Amphitruo and Jupiter, who has come out of the house to drive away Amphitruo as an impostor. Here the Plautine lines begin again where Blepharo gives up the riddle as impossible of solution and leaves, although Amphitruo begs him to stay and be his advocate. Jupiter goes back into the house and locks the door. Amphitruo, left alone, furiously declares that he will break into the house and take vengeance on everybody within. But he is stunned by a sudden storm.

Act V. A maidservant finds her master lying on the ground. She rouses him and tells him of Alcmena's painlessly giving birth to twins, the event attended by miraculous signs, and of Jupiter's parentage of one of the boys. Jupiter himself from the sky confirms this fact and explains how he impersonated Amphitruo. He disappears after praising Alcmena's goodness and commanding Amphitruo to return her to his affections.

¹⁴*Cf.* the following authorities:

(1) Teuffel, W. S., *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 170.

(2) *The Comedies of Plautus*, translated by Riley, H. T., London, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 47-57.

(3) *Plautus, Delphin Classics*, London, 1829, Vol. I, pp. 126-141.

Other texts give fragments of the lost part of the play, from which they reconstruct the lacuna somewhat differently. *Cf. The Amphitruo of Plautus*, Palmer, Arthur, London, 1890, pp. 106-110.

*Tables Showing the Relation of "The Comedy of Errors"
to the Two Plays of Plautus*

Three tables follow. In the first I have run through the *Comedy of Errors*, showing which episodes and situations are to some extent based on the *Menaechmi* and which are not. The second table shows Shakespeare's indebtedness to the *Amphitruo*, and the third is a list of his own additions.

*Table I. Comparison of "The Comedy of Errors"
and the "Menaechmi"*

<i>The Comedy of Errors</i> Act I. Sc. i	<i>Menaechmi</i>
1- 30. Aegeon is condemned unless he can procure ransom.	<i>Prologue and Argument</i> : The father is mentioned; he dies of grief when his son is lost.
31-139. Aegeon's story.	<i>Prologue</i> , 24-43. The father, accompanied by his son, takes merchandise to Tarentum; his son is taken to Epidamnus.
39- 43. He makes frequent trading voyages to Epidamnus.	
44- 48. His wife follows him to Epidamnus.	. . .
49- 50. Twins are born to them in Epidamnus.	<i>Argument</i> , 1. } Twins are born to <i>Prologue</i> , 18. } the merchant in Syracuse.
51- 52. Likeness of twins is emphasized.	<i>Prologue</i> , 19-21. Likeness of twins is emphasized.
53- 57. Other twins are born at the same hour.	(Identical hour of birth suggested by wet nurse in <i>Prologue</i> , 20-21?)
58-106. Aegeon and his family are shipwrecked.	. . .
107-111. Son, wife, and slave are apparently picked up by a boat from Corinth, and are separated from father.	<i>Argument</i> , 2. } <i>Prologue</i> , 31-38. } Son is stolen.

The Plot-Structure of "The Comedy of Errors" 27

The Comedy of Errors

Menaechmi

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| 112-123. Father, son, and slave
are rescued by boat from
Epidaurus. | . . . |
| 124-131. Brother searches for
brother. | <i>Argument, 5, 6.</i>
<i>Prologue, 69-71.</i>
<i>II.1.232-246.</i> |
| 132-139. Father searches for son. | |
| 128. Brother takes name of
lost brother. | <i>Argument, 4.</i>
<i>Prologue, 39-48.</i> |
| 140-158. Duke extends time for
Aegeon to procure ran-
som. | } Brother is given
} name of lost
} brother. |
| Sc. ii | |
| 1- 8. Merchant warns Anti-
pholus of Syracuse of
the Ephesian law. | . . . |
| 9- 10. Dromio is sent to the
inn with the money. | II.iii.386-436. Messenio is given
the money and sent to the inn
with the baggage. |
| 11- 32. Antipholus S. goes to
see the town and prom-
ises to meet the mer-
chant. | . . . |
| 15- 16. Antipholus S. is weary
with travel. | II.i.226-228. Menaechmus II is
weary with travel. |
| 19- 21. Antipholus S. says that
his slave jokes with him
often. | II.ii.317-318. Cylindrus, Erotium's
cook, says that Menaechmus I
jokes with him often. |
| 33- 40. Antipholus S. is unhap-
py at not finding his
brother. | II.i.242-246. Menaechmus II is
unhappy at not finding his broth-
er. |
| 41- 94. Antipholus S. is mis-
taken for his brother by
Dromio of Ephesus. | II.ii.275-332. Menaechmus II is
mistaken for his brother by Cylin-
drus. |

*The Comedy of Errors**Menaechmi*

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| 42. | Antipholus S. is surprised at the speedy return of his supposed servant. | II.ii.276-277. Cylindrus is surprised at the speedy return of Menaechmus II, the supposed guest. |
| 43- 52. | Dromio E. bids Antipholus S. to dinner, long since ready. | II.ii.286-287. Breakfast is prepared at the home of Erotium. |
| 53- 94. | There is banter between Antipholus S. and Dromio E. | II.ii.290-314. There is banter between Menaechmus II and Cylindrus. |
| 95-105. | Antipholus S. fears for his money because of the evil reputation of the town. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 3em; line-height: 1;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> V.i.701-703. Menaechmus II fears for his money.

 II.i.258-264. The town has an evil reputation. </div> |

Act II. Sc. i

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|---------|---|---|
| 1- 3. | Adriana is impatient at her husband's delay and comes out to watch for him. | V.i.704. Wife, angry, comes out to watch for her husband to return with the mantle. |
| 4- 43. | Luciana remonstrates with her sister over her jealousy and philosophizes over the liberty of men. | V.ii.787-802. The old man chides his daughter for her jealousy and her interference with her husband's liberty. |
| 44- 85. | Dromio returns without his master; punning and repartee follow. | . . . |
| 86-116. | The jealous Adriana complains to her sister of her truant husband. | V.ii.790-792, 803-807. The jealous wife complains to her father of her truant husband. |

Sc. ii

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| 1-109. | Dromio S. returns to his master and is charged with the misconduct of Dromio E. | . . . |
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The Comedy of Errors

Menaechmi

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| <p>7-12. } Because Antipholus S.
 26-28. } has mistaken Dromio E.
 for his Dromio, he
 takes his Dromio's se-
 rious speeches for un-
 seasonable jokes.</p> | <p>II.i.249. } Mistaken identity
 II.iii.405. } causes serious speeches
 V.ii.825. } to be taken as unsea-
 sonable jokes.</p> |
| <p>110-180. Adriana, thinking Anti-
 pholus S. her husband,
 upbraids him. Luciana
 seconds her.</p> | <p>V.i.710-735. Wife thinks Men-
 aechmus II her husband and up-
 braids him.</p> |
| <p>148-149. Antipholus S. tells Adri-
 ana that he has just ar-
 rived in the city.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Menaechmus I I</p> <p>II.iii.378-380; } tells Erotium that
 399-401. } he has just arrived
 in the city.</p> |
| <p>152-153. } Luciana takes wife's
 III.ii.1-28. } part when she is con-
 vinced of the hus-
 band's faults.</p> | <p>V.ii.805-806. Father takes his
 daughter's side when he is con-
 vinced that the husband has done
 wrong.</p> |
| <p>168-170. Adriana complains of
 being ridiculed by her
 husband.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Wife and Erotium</p> <p>II.iii.396. } complain of being ridi-
 V.ii.782. } culed by Menaechmus
 II.</p> |
| <p>181-219. Antipholus S. is per-
 suaded to go to dinner
 with Adriana.</p> | <p>II.ii.416-417. Menaechmus II is
 persuaded to go to dinner with
 Erotium.</p> |
| <p>206-208. Adriana tells Antipho-
 lus S. that dinner is
 waiting.</p> | <p>II.iii.367-8, 387. Erotium tells
 Menaechmus II that breakfast is
 ready.</p> |

Act III. Sc. i

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| <p>1- 29. Antipholus E. excuses
 himself to Angelo be-
 cause of his wife's bad
 temper and goes home
 to dinner with Balthazar
 as his guest, accompa-
 nied by his slave, who
 complains of the beating
 he received.</p> | <p>I.ii.174. Menaechmus I goes to
 take breakfast with Erotium, ac-
 companied by Peniculus, the par-
 asite.
 I.ii.159. } Menaechmus I speaks
 I.iii.189. } slightly of his wife.</p> |
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*The Comedy of Errors**Menaechmi*

- 30- 84. Antipholus E. finds the door locked, and a battle of words ensues between master and servant without and mistress and servants within.
- 85-106. Balthazar persuades Antipholus E. not to enter by force. . . .
- 107-123. Antipholus E. decides to dine with the courtesan; he takes Balthazar with him, and sends Angelo for the chain, which he will give to the courtesan.
- IV.ii.668-669. Menaechmus I finds himself locked out by his wife.
IV.iii.695-700. He is locked out by Erotium also.
- IV.ii.668-674. Menaechmus I goes back to Erotium when he is cast off by his wife.
I.ii.130. Menaechmus I takes the mantle to the courtesan.
- Sc. ii
- 1- 28. Luciana, thinking Antipholus S. her brother-in-law, upbraids him for neglect of his wife. V.ii.805-806. The father blames the husband, as he thinks, for stealing his wife's cloak and bracelet.
- 6- 10. Antipholus E. thinks Dromio impudent because Dromio insists that he recently met his master as his master commanded him to do. V.viii.1050-1051. Menaechmus II thinks Messenio impudent because Messenio insists that he recently met his master as his master commanded him to do.
- 29- 70. Antipholus S. makes love to Luciana, who puts him off by going for her sister. . . .
- 71-157. Dromio has been claimed as husband; he puns. . . .
- 158-166. Antipholus S. soliloquizes; he will take ship to escape temptation. V.iii.876-881. Menaechmus II will hasten away by ship to escape those who think him mad.

The Comedy of Errors

Menaechmi

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| 167-168. Angelo brings the chain to Antipholus S., mistaking him for his brother. | III.ii.466-469. }
III.iii.524-536. } | Menaechmus II, mistaken for his brother, is given the cloak and the bracelet. |
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Act. IV. Sc. i

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| 1- 84. Angelo, pressed for debt, asks Antipholus for payment for the chain; an altercation follows, and Antipholus is arrested. | IV.iii.678-695. Menaechmus I, pressed by his wife to return the cloak, asks it of Erotium, who insists that she has given it to him. A quarrel follows. |
| 85-111. Dromio S. comes with news of a ship; he is sent for the money. | . . . |
| 112-113. Dromio S. knows that masters must be obeyed. | II.i.443-444. Messenio knows that masters must be obeyed. |

Sc. ii

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| 1- 28. Luciana tells her sister of Antipholus S.'s love for her. | . . . |
| 29- 66. Dromio S. comes with news of Antipholus S.'s arrest and gets money to pay for the chain. | . . . |

Sc. iii

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| 1- 11. Antipholus S. is amazed at the strange things that are happening to him. | V.vii.1039-1047. Menaechmus I is amazed at the strange things that are happening to him. |
| 12- 44. Dromio S. comes to Antipholus S. with the money. | V.vii.1035-1037. Messenio tells Menaechmus I that he will bring him the purse. |

*The Comedy of Errors**Menaechmi*

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| 45- 71. The courtezán accosts Antipholus S. and demands the chain or her ring, which she has given his brother, and asks him to "mend his dinner" with her. | } | II.iii.357-382. Erotium accosts Menaechmus II for Menaechmus I.

IV.iii.685-695. } Erotium is angry because Menaech-
V.v.906-908. } mus I asks for the cloak which she has given to his brother. |
| 82- 92. The courtzeán thinks Antipholus S. mad and goes to Adriana. | | . . . |
| Sc. iv | | |
| 1- 7. Antipholus E. and the officer await Dromio S. with the money. | | . . . |
| 8- 38. Dromio E. comes with the rope. He denies being sent for the money. | | . . . |
| 39- 99. Dr. Pinch is brought; the complication grows with counter accusations. Antipholus is thought mad. | } | V.ii.828-875. Menaechmus II is thought mad.
V.iv.889-898. The doctor is brought. |
| 100-104. Antipholus E. threatens to scratch out his wife's eyes. | | V.ii.840. Menaechmus II threatens to burn out his wife's eyes. |
| 105. Adriana is frightened at her husband's threats. | | V.i.161. Wife is frightened at Menaechmus II's threats. |
| 106-129. Antipholus E. and Dromio E. are bound and taken home. | | V.vii.997-1018. The servants try to bind Menaechmus I. |
| 130-142. Adriana tries to learn the truth about the chain. | | . . . |

The Comedy of Errors

Menaechmi

143-145. Antipholus S. and Dromio S. come with swords, and it is thought that they are the prisoners broken loose.	. . .
146-157. Antipholus S. determines to leave town at once.	V.iii.876-879. Menaechmus II will leave at once.
Act V. Sc. i	
1- 9. Angelo apologizes to his friend.	. . .
10- 32. Angelo upbraids Antipholus S. with denying that he had the chain; swords are drawn.	. . .
33- 35. A duel is prevented.	. . .
36- 37. Antipholus S. and Dromio S. take refuge in the priory.	. . .
38- 68. Adriana demands that she be allowed to get her husband; the abbess enquires into the causes of the husband's madness.	V.v.910-933. The doctor enquires about the symptoms of Menaechmus I.
69-112. The abbess blames Adriana for her jealous nagging and refuses to surrender the refugees.	{ I.ii.110-118. Menaechmus I accuses his wife of nagging. V.ii.787-797. Father blames wife for her jealous nagging.
113-167. The Duke and his following come to the execution. Adriana makes complaint.	. . .
168-188. The servant brings news of the escape and mad tricks of the supposed madmen.	. . .

<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
189-330. Antipholus E. demands justice; the complicating events are reviewed.	. . .
330-340. The doubles, the father, and the mother are brought together.	V.ix.1059-1070. The doubles are brought together.
340-356. The abbess tells her story; her son and slave were stolen from her by fishermen of Corinth.	<i>Argument</i> , 2. } The son was stolen <i>Prologue</i> , 33. } by a man of Epidamnus.
341-425. Recognition clears up all difficulties.	V.ix.1086-1161. Recognition clears up all difficulties.

Table II. Comparison of "The Comedy of Errors" and the "Amphitruo"

<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
Act I. Sc. ii	
41-105. Mistaken identity of master and servant: Antipholus S. thinks Dromio E. his slave, and Dromio E. thinks Antipholus S. his master.	III.iii. Sosia thinks Jupiter his master.
98-100. Antipholus S. thinks sorcery has been at work.	II.ii.782. } Amphitruo and So- II.ii.844-846. } sia think a sorcerer II.i.604-605. } is at work.
Act II. Sc. ii	
110-180. Adriana upbraids Antipholus S., her supposed husband, for her husband's conduct.	III.ii.913-930. Alcmena upbraids Jupiter, her supposed husband, for her husband's accusations of her.
115. Adriana says that Antipholus would "hurl	II.i.813. Amphitruo thinks Alcmena unchaste and tells her not

The Comedy of Errors

Amphitruo

the name of husband in her face" if he thought her false.	to call him by the false name of husband.
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211, 218. Dromio of Syracuse is set to guard the door.	I.ii and IV.ii. Mercury disguised as Sosia guards the house.
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212-214. Antipholus S. doubts his own identity.	I.i.384. } Sosia doubts his II.ii.825-829. } own identity.
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Act III. Sc. i

6- 18. Antipholus of Ephesus does not believe his servant's tale of a beating and troubles because of his double.	II.i.Amphitruo does not believe Sosia's tale of a double and a beating.
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11- 12. Dromio sticks to the truth in spite of his beating.	{ I.i.393-394. } Sosia reiterates his II.i.257-560. } story in spite of a beating.
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30ff Antipholus E. comes to dinner with Balthazar and his slave and finds himself locked out while his double is within and the other slave guards the door.	{ I.i. Mercury guards the house when Sosia returns. IV.ii. Mercury, on the housetop, refuses to let Amphitruo in. IV.iii. Blepharo and Sosia join Amphitruo for breakfast. All are locked out while Jupiter is within.
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31- 84. Adriana dines with Antipholus of Syracuse, thinking him her husband.	I.i. } Alcmena receives Jupi- III.ii.iii. } ter as her husband.
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1- 84. Balthazar, invited to dinner, misses his dinner.	{ III.ii.967-968. } Blepharo, invited IV.iii. } to breakfast, misses his breakfast.
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*The Comedy of Errors**Amphitruo*

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|---|---|---|
| 70,80,84. Antipholus E. wants to break in the door. | { | IV.ii.1021-1027. Mercury says that Amphitruo is trying to break the door. |
| | { | IV.iii.1049-1052. Amphitruo vows that he will break in and take vengeance on everyone in the house. |

Sc. ii

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|--|--|
| 80- 83. Dromio is claimed as husband by the kitchen maid—an echo of Adriana's claiming Antipholus. | II.ii.658. Sosia has a mistress, who, he says, is waiting longingly for him, an echo of Amphitruo's statement that his wife longs for him. |
| 168-170. Adriana blames her husband for abetting his slave in what she thinks is impudence to her. | II.ii.721-722. Alcmena thinks Sosia impudent to her and wants her husband to punish him. |

Act. IV. Sc. iii

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|---|---|
| 85. Antipholus E. and Dromio S. take each other for master and man. | III.iii. Sosia thinks Jupiter his master. |
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Sc. iv

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|---|--|
| 64- 99. Adriana insists that her husband dined at home. | II.ii.682-857. Alcmena insists that her husband dined and spent the night at home. |
| 78- 80. Pinch advises humoring the madman. | II.ii.702-705. Sosia advises humoring Alcmena, whom he thinks mad. |
| 100-102. Antipholus E. calls his wife a harlot. | II.ii.818-819. Amphitruo accuses his wife of unchastity. |

Act V

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 190-194. Antipholus E. is a brave soldier. | I.i. Amphitruo is a brave general. |
|--|------------------------------------|

The Comedy of Errors

Amphitruo

204- 5. Antipholus E. accuses his wife of feasting with harlots.	II.ii.818-819. V.iii.	} Amphitruo accuses his wife of being false.
208-209. Adriana swears innocence.	II.ii.831-834.	Alcmena swears innocence.
370-390. The wife is cleared of all blame.	V.i.	The wife is cleared of all blame.

Table III. Shakespeare's Additions

Act I. Sc. i

The feud between the cities; Aegeon condemned unless he can procure ransom.

In Aegeon's story: The wife's going to Epidamnum, so that that city becomes the birth place of the twins; the birth and purchase of the twin slaves; the "balanced" separation of the family in the shipwreck; the search of father for son.

The Duke's extension of time for Aegeon's ransom.

Sc. ii

The merchant's warning to Antipholus S. about the Ephesian law and the sentence already passed on an old merchant from Syracuse.

Antipholus S.'s appointment with the merchant at five o'clock.

Dromio E.'s calling Antipholus to dinner, long since ready.

Act II. Scene i

The creation of Luciana.

Dromio's return without his master.

Sc. ii

The moral Antipholus S., agreeing to dine with the wife, falling in love with the sister.

Act III. Sc. ii

Antipholus S.'s love-making; Luciana's acquainting her sister with his suit.

The kitchen maid's claiming Dromio S. as husband. (Perhaps suggested by Sosia's mention of his mistress.)

Act IV. Sc. i

Angelo, his debt to the merchant, and the arrest of Antipholus E.

Dromio S. sent by Antipholus E. for money for Angelo.

Sc. ii (entirely new)

Luciana's announcement to Adriana of Antipholus S.'s love-making. Dromio S.'s demand that Adriana send the money for the chain.

The courtesan's belief that Antipholus E. is mad and her visit to Adriana.

Sc. iv

Dromio E.'s coming to his master with a rope when the master awaits the other slave and the money.

Adriana's attempt to learn the truth about the chain.

Act V

The merchant's need of the money which Angelo owes him; Angelo's apology for not having paid it.

The prevention of a duel.

Escape of Antipholus S. and his slave into the priory.

Adriana's demand of her husband from the abbess.

The abbess's refusal to surrender the refugees.

The procession to the place of execution.

News of the escaped madmen.

The Duke's part in the recognition.

Analysis of the Plot

The plot-structure of *The Comedy of Errors* I shall now discuss, noting particularly its debt to the Latin plays, as shown in the preceding tables.

Act I

I.i. Aegeon is condemned to death because the Ephesians have passed an edict that any merchant from Syracuse found in their city shall die or pay a large ransom. The old man tells his story to the Duke. Years before, when he and his wife were in Epidamnum, twin sons had been born to them, and at the same time a poor woman there had also given birth to twin sons. He had bought these boys to attend on his own children. As the father and mother and four boys were returning to Ephesus, they were shipwrecked, and separated, the mother and one son and one slave being picked up by one boat, and the father and the other son and the other slave by another. The father had not been able to find his wife and child. When the son who was with him grew up, he went to search for his brother, but did not return. And now for five years the father has been seeking him. The Duke, touched with pity at the story, gives Aegeon until evening to try to procure the ransom.

Evidently Shakespeare has built this scene on parts of the *Argument* and *Prologue* of the *Menaechmi* as a foundation, but see what he adds: a shipwreck, a second twin from the *Amphitruo*, and the tragic element of impending execution for the poor old man. The foster mother in the *Menaechmi* who could not tell the twins apart, although she nourished them at her breast,¹⁵ must have had a child near their age; could this fact have suggested to Shakespeare "that very hour"¹⁶ of the birth of Aegeon's twins for the birth of the slaves? But, according to English custom, the mother nursed her own children instead of turning them over to a foster mother. In the *Prologue* of the *Menaechmi* the father dies of grief at the loss of his son; in *The Comedy of Errors* the father comes very near death in the search for the son who was left to him. Shakespeare doubles the search in the *Menaechmi*; both father and son

¹⁵*Men. Pro.*, 20, non internosse posset quae mammam dabat.

¹⁶*C. of E.*, I.i.53.

are searching, and Messenio's speech about brother's search for brother (*Men.* II.i.232-246) is given to the father, somewhat changed, of course. The father's story told to the Duke is a much more effective and interesting method of exposition than a prologue or a soliloquy.¹⁷ This scene not only prepares for the main action with all its entanglements, but looks forward to the happy reunion in Act V, brought about by the very fact that the sentence of execution is about to be carried out. The action is laid in Ephesus, but the twins were born in *Epidamnus* (a corruption of *Epidamnus*), where the *Menaechmi* is laid.

I.ii. Antipholus of Syracuse, just arrived at Ephesus with his servant, Dromio, is warned by a merchant of the Ephesian law,—which condemns to death all Syracusans who cannot pay a large ransom,—and is advised to claim to be from Epidamnus. Antipholus sends Dromio to the inn with his money, telling Dromio to meet him before dinner. In a few minutes the Dromio of the lost brother, who lives in Ephesus, meets Antipholus, and mistaking him for his master, tells him to hurry home to dinner, for his mistress is waiting. Antipholus thinks that the servant is joking and asks about his money. When Dromio denies any knowledge of the money, he gets a beating and makes his escape. Antipholus, fearing that Dromio has been robbed, goes to the inn to investigate, after the merchant promises to meet him at five o'clock.

(1) The exposition continues through the first part of this scene. There is a bit of dramatic irony in the merchant's telling the son of his father's plight as the dramatist a second time forecasts the almost tragic end. We are introduced to Antipholus of Syracuse and Dromio and their situation. There is some character exposition in the relation of master and slave. The basis for this scene is *Men.* I.ii., where Menaechmus I, weary with travel and unhappy at not finding his brother, arrives with his slave in Epidamnus. The close relation between master and slave is the

¹⁷Professor Baker discusses the effectiveness of the Aegeon story; see his *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, p. 135.

same in both plays, and Menaechmus I sends Messenio to the inn with his baggage and money.

(2) The mistaken identity scene is the initial incident. Shakespeare so far has got on much faster than Plautus. In the *Menaechmi*, the first case of mistaken identity, the initial incident in that play also, occurs in II.ii, when Cylindrus the cook takes Menaechmus I for his brother, and, surprised at the speedy return of Menaechmus, as Antipholus is at the return of Dromio, asks Menaechmus in to a breakfast¹⁸ meant for his brother. The first case of mistaken identity in the *Amphitruo*, though not the initial incident, occurs in III.iii, where Sosia takes Jupiter for his master. The beating which Dromio gets is like that which Amphitruo gives Sosia because he has mistaken Mercury for his slave (IV.ii). The dinner, the climax of the play, is prepared for as Dromio of Ephesus insists on Antipholus's going to dinner and Antipholus insists on his money, two motifs that run throughout the play. Because of the evil reputation of the town Antipholus of Syracuse fears for his money, which he has given to his slave. Shakespeare has combined two incidents in the *Menaechmi* here; in II.i Messenio explains that Epidamnus has an evil reputation, and in V.i Menaechmus II is afraid that Messenio has been cheated out of the money which has been entrusted to him. Messenio's speech about the evil reputation of the town is transferred to the master. The promise of the merchant to meet Antipholus at five o'clock looks forward to the last scene. The banter between master and slave is common to both plays, in the *Menaechmi* between Cylindrus and Menaechmus I, and in the *Amphitruo* between Sosia and Mercury, and between each of these and Amphitruo. Antipholus's reference to the frequent "merry jests" of his slave prepares for the results of mistaken identity being thought the Dromios' jesting. The fact that the servants both in

¹⁸The *prandium* of the Romans was a late morning meal, perhaps more like luncheon than breakfast, though usually translated "breakfast." Shakespeare naturally substitutes dinner, a more important meal for the English than breakfast.

this play and in the *Amphitruo* are accustomed to joke with their masters fosters the development of the complication.

Act II

II.i. Adriana, the wife of Antipholus of Ephesus, complains to her sister of her husband's neglect of her. Luciana remonstrates with her sister about her jealousy and counsels patience as she philosophizes over the liberty of man. Dromio comes in and reports that his master demands his money and denies his wife; furthermore, his master has given him a beating. About the last Dromio jokes merrily. Adriana sends Dromio back for her husband. She says that Antipholus has promised her a chain. Luciana again warns her against jealousy.

Most of the scene is Shakespeare's own, though he goes to *Men.*, V.ii for the jealousy motif. In the latter scene the wife complains to her father of her husband's conduct, and he scolds his daughter for her jealousy and her interference with her husband's liberty. Shakespeare transfers the father's chiding and philosophy to Luciana, making the conversation more effective because it is between two women. This same philosophy is repeated in *The Comedy of Errors* by the abbess. This first scene of Act II is largely character exposition. We are introduced to the two women. Dromio's news of his supposed master's refusal to come to dinner carries on the action toward the climax as the wife becomes more impatient. The mention of a promised chain foreshadows an episode that plays an important part in the play, getting one of the masters arrested and causing great confusion. Luciana's "Well, I will marry one day but to try" foreshadows the Luciana-Antipholus of Syracuse plot.

II.ii. Antipholus of Syracuse has found his money safe at the inn. His own Dromio comes to him and denies that he is guilty of the deeds (of the other Dromio) with which his master charges him, and he gets a beating. A pun of Dromio starts badinage between the two, ending with vaudeville jokes far from the subject in hand, "a bald conclusion," as Antipholus says. Adriana meets master and

slave and upbraids her husband—as she thinks—for his indifference and neglect. When he declares that he has been in Ephesus but two hours, and both he and his servant insist that they do not know the ladies, Luciana, too, reproves him. Antipholus thinks it must all be a dream or a spell, and follows them in to dinner, while Adriana sets Dromio as porter to guard the door.

The scene falls into two parts:

(1) Antipholus of Syracuse finds his money safe, and Dromio of Syracuse is a second time beaten for his twin's words, so that the entanglement grows. This again is like Amphitruo's beating Sosia for Mercury's mischief.¹⁹ There is much joking here, only slightly connected with the plot.

(2) Adriana mistakes Antipholus of Syracuse for her husband and scolds him for her husband's deeds as the wife of Menaechmus II (V.i.) accosts her husband's brother and scolds him. Luciana, who has taken the husband's part, takes her sister's side when she is convinced that her sister is badly treated, just as the father changes sides in *Menaechmi* V.ii. The father is willing for the husband to visit the courtesan, but his morals are materialistic; he thinks it very wrong for the husband to take his wife's belongings to the courtesan. In the *Amphitruo*, III.ii Alcmena upbraids Jupiter, her supposed husband, for her own husband's seemingly unkind treatment of her. Adriana's description of her husband's hypothetical state of mind if she were untrue to him foreshadows what he really does think when he is locked out, a state of mind analogous to that of Amphitruo when he finds himself shut out and thinks his wife unchaste. Antipholus of Syracuse is finally persuaded to go to dinner with the wife of his brother as Menaechmus I is persuaded—a little more readily—to go to breakfast with his brother's mistress. Antipholus of Syracuse is so bewildered, between Adriana's torrent of accusation and

¹⁹A beating was a stock comedy device both in the Latin play and the early English play, so that such an episode does not necessarily have a special source.

the charming presence of Luciana, fascinating in spite of her censure, that he wonders if he is really awake, and follows the women in a semi-hypnotized state, as it were. But Menaechmus I will not refuse a mistress and a breakfast; he tells Messenio that there is some booty for them in this situation. Dromio of Syracuse is set to guard the gate as Mercury guards the house in the *Amphitruo*. The Luciana-Antipholus plot begins in this scene, and the various characters are being drawn together for the confusion of the next scene, the climax of the play.

Act III

III.i. Antipholus of Ephesus excuses himself to Angelo, the goldsmith, from whom he has ordered the chain for his wife, because of his wife's temper and goes home to dinner with Balthazar as his guest and with Dromio, who complains of the beating he has just had. His master thinks that he is jesting. They find the door locked and are refused admittance by Dromio of Syracuse and other servants inside the house. A battle of words follows, in which Adriana herself from within orders them away. Antipholus is dissuaded by the calmer Balthazar from breaking the door down, and finally goes away to have dinner with a "wench of excellent discourse, pretty and witty, wild, and yet, too, gentle." He takes Balthazar with him and sends Angelo for the chain, which he decides to give to the courtesan.

In this scene the *Amphitruo* influence is the stronger, but there are suggestions from the second and fourth acts of the *Menaechmi*. Shakespeare introduces Antipholus of Ephesus here for the first time, while Plautus introduces his prototype, Menaechmus I, early in the first act and the brother in Act II. In the first scene in the *Amphitruo* Mercury guards the house while Alcmena receives Jupiter within, and in IV.ii *Amphitruo* finds himself locked out while Jupiter is again with Alcmena, and Mercury (from the housetop) refuses him admittance. *Amphitruo* is shut out a second time when Jupiter goes back into the house, and the real husband cries out in desperation that

he will burst open the door and punish all within (IV.iii.1049-52). Antipholus of Ephesus declares that he will break in the door and calls for an iron crow. Amphitruo is joined by Sosia and Blepharo, who, like Balthazar, does not get the meal to which he was invited. In *Menaechmi*, I.ii, the husband goes to breakfast with the courtesan, accompanied by Peniculus; in IV.ii and iii Menaechmus I finds himself locked out by his wife, and goes to the courtesan (as Antipholus of Ephesus does), only to find himself locked out there. He is the most shut out (*exclusissimus*) man in town. In the same play, both Peniculus and the husband miss the breakfast which is prepared for them. The chain entanglement progresses with Antipholus's determination to give the chain to the courtesan. The basis here is the *Menaechmi*, and the mantle. Menaechmus I has before this stolen a bracelet from his wife and given it to the courtesan, and now he steals his wife's mantle to bestow on the same lady. The chain which Antipholus of Ephesus determines to give the courtesan is virtually his wife's, for he has ordered it for her, though he has not yet given it to her. But Antipholus of Ephesus has more justification in going to the courtesan's and giving her the chain than Menaechmus I had for similar conduct. Menaechmus is shut out by his wife because he has given away her cloak; Antipholus of Ephesus gives away the chain because he is shut out. This scene is the climax of the play. All of the characters, except those in the enveloping action, are assembled here, with a mere door separating the two pairs of twins. But the closed door sends one brother off on a course of action that piles up confusion and fosters the love affair of the other brother. Balthazar's advice saves the door.

III.ii. Luciana urges Antipholus of Syracuse to treat Adriana more kindly, but he makes love to Luciana, who goes to consult her sister. Dromio of Syracuse is claimed as husband by the kitchen-maid, and he makes many jokes and puns about her. The master thinks that he will hasten to his ship to escape temptation and the strange things that

are happening. Then Angelo arrives and gives Antipholus of Syracuse the chain, thinking him his brother.

This scene falls into three parts: (1) The advance of the Luciana-Antipholus of Syracuse plot, (2) the farcical echo of Adriana's claiming the wrong husband, and (3) Angelo's mistaking one brother for the other. The first two of these are not found in the Latin plays.²⁰ Antipholus of Syracuse's determination to hasten away to ship echoes Menaechnus II's "Why don't I hurry away to my ship while I can go safely?"²¹ But the motive is different; Antipholus of Syracuse wants to flee from temptation. Angelo's giving the chain to the wrong brother parallels Erotium and the maid's giving the mantle and bracelet to the wrong brother. But Antipholus wants to pay for the chain. Both in this action and in his conduct with his brother's wife he shows himself very different in character from his prototype, and a contrast to his brother.

Act IV

IV.i. Angelo owes another merchant almost exactly the sum which Antipholus of Ephesus owes him for the chain and promises to pay him that evening when Antipholus discharges his debt. Just then Antipholus of Ephesus, with his Dromio, comes from the courtesan's, where he has dined. He denies having received the chain, and Angelo has him arrested. Dromio of Syracuse brings news of the ship, and Antipholus of Ephesus sends him home for money for his release.

The "second merchant" is introduced here to press Angelo for payment of a debt and thus motivate Angelo's demand for his money and his subsequent arrest of Antipho-

²⁰There is, however, a speech of Sosia's that echoes his master very much as the Dromio-Nell episode echoes the Antipholus S.-Adriana plot: Amphitruo says that he will arrive much wished-for, *exoptatum*, and longed-for, by his wife, and Sosia asks if he also will not be expected and welcomed by his mistress (II.ii.29). The Sosia-Thessala slight love plot in *The Birth of Hercules* is probably developed from this passage.

²¹*quid cesso abire ad navem dum saluo licet?* *Men.* V.iii.878.

lus of Ephesus.²² The argument over the chain, a case of mistaken identity, is transferred from courtesan and Menaechmus I (over the cloak, IV.iii) to the goldsmith and Antipholus of Ephesus (over the chain). Dromio of Ephesus is sent away by his master to buy a rope to "bestow among my wife and her confederates" so that Dromio of Syracuse may shortly appear and be mistaken for him and sent for the money. The confusion grows.

IV.ii. Luciana is telling her sister of Antipholus of Syracuse's making love to her, when Dromio of Syracuse comes for the money, which Adriana gives him to take to her husband.

Adriana's anger and quick temper and her reactionary tenderness remind one of Alcmena's quick change of tone in *Amphitruo*, III.ii. When Alcmena thinks that Amphitruo is calling down the wrath of the gods upon himself, she cries out in a desire to avert the calamity, though she has been very angry a moment before.²³ This incident is for the purpose of character portrayal. There is much punning here.

IV.iii. Dromio of Syracuse brings to his master the money for which Antipholus of Ephesus has sent him. There is confusion over the money and the ship, master and slave each holding the other accountable for his double's words and actions. The courtesan then meets Antipholus of Syracuse and asks him for the chain which he wears, saying that he promised it to her when she gave him her diamond ring. Antipholus refuses her invitation to a meal and does not give her the chain. Her decision that he is mad and her determination to tell his wife, hoping to get back her ring, is the first step in the "mad" episode.

(1) In the first lines of the scene Antipholus of Syracuse expresses amazement at all that is happening to him. In *Menaechmi*, V.vii it is the other brother, Menaechmus I, who has a similar soliloquy when Messenio tells him that

²²Cf. Gaw, p. 627.

²³See *Romeo and Juliet* (III.ii.72-95): Juliet has a similar reaction when the nurse vilifies Romeo.

he will bring him the baggage and money. In *The Comedy of Errors* Dromio of Syracuse, of whom Messenio is prototype, brings the other brother's money to his own master. Shakespeare has doubled the sums of money entrusted to the slaves, as he has doubled the search and multiplied instances of confusion.

(2) The mistake of the courtesan has its foundation in the *Menaechmi*, II.iii, when Erotium greets Menaechmus II for his brother and in IV.iii, when she grows angry because Menaechmus I denies having taken the cloak. The substitution of chain for mantle may possibly have been suggested by the "W.W." translation, where a chain is substituted in III.iii for the bracelet,²⁴ but the substitution of ring for bracelet is without question Shakespeare's own. In the *Menaechmi* the wife, not the courtesan, first thinks the husband mad. The courtesan's going to the wife is Shakespeare's addition. The entanglement grows with each case of mistaken identity.

IV.iv. Dromio of Ephesus returns to his master with the rope instead of the money for which his master sent the other slave, and gets a beating. The courtesan has told Adriana that her husband is mad, and when the three women, with Pinch, the conjurer, whom they have summoned, find Antipholus of Ephesus beating his slave, and when both master and man insist that they did not dine at home and that Dromio did not get the money, the two are bound and carried away for treatment. Adriana inquires about the money that is owing to the goldsmith, and the courtesan claims to have seen the chain. The other master and man come with drawn swords for the witches that they think must be pursuing them, and Adriana believes that her husband has escaped. The women, frightened at the brandished swords, run away.

The money and chain motifs run through this scene, and the madness motif is developed. In the *Amphitruo* people who cannot understand each other are always calling each

²⁴Or, much more probably, Shakespeare's play may have suggested the chain to "W. W."

other "mad," but in the *Menaechmi* the wife really thinks her husband insane and the doctor is brought by the father-in-law and questions the patient. Shakespeare allows the men to be bound and carried away, to escape later, while Plautus lets Messenio rescue Menaechmus I at once. Adriana's insistence that her husband dined at home is suggestive of Alcmena's insistence that her husband dined and spent the night at home (II.ii), and the courtesan's maintaining that Antipholus has the ring and the chain is suggestive of Erotium's insistence that Menaechmus has the mantle and bracelet (IV.iii). The entanglement has in this scene reached the point of physical struggle, which adds to the fury of the baffled husband.

Act V

V.i. Angelo and the merchant mistake Antipholus of Syracuse, wearing the chain, for his brother. They quarrel, but the women come back on hearing the noise and prevent a duel. Antipholus and his servant take refuge in the priory. The abbess comes out, and when she hears the story, she blames Adriana for her nagging and declares that she will keep the mad man and care for him until he is restored, refusing to release him to Adriana. The Duke and his train come by, going with Aegeon to the place of execution. Adriana stops the Duke and complains of the Abbess's detention of her husband. Antipholus of Ephesus and Dromio have now really escaped and soon join the crowd. As the Duke inquires into the matter, everybody contradicts everybody else and the tangle seems hopeless. Aegeon's plea for ransom to a son who says he does not know him adds to the mystification. The abbess reënters with her patients. The two pairs of twins, masters and servants, are brought face to face, the mystery is cleared, and there is a happy reunion of the long-separated family. They all go to dinner with the abbess.

Antipholus of Syracuse's wearing the chain and being taken for his brother is like Menaechmus II with the mantle. With the flight of the supposed mad men into the priory we return to the plot which makes the enveloping action. The

abbess inquires into the condition of the patient, as the doctor does in *Menaechmi*, V.v, but she seeks the mental causes of his madness, while the *Medicus* asks about his drink, his sleep, and his digestion. Though in the supposed madness here is much of the old comedy idea, yet we see that early in his career Shakespeare was interested in a subject that later played a large part in *King Lear* and *Hamlet*, two of his greatest tragedies. The abbess blames Adriana for her jealous nagging as the father in *Menaechmi* blames his daughter.

The coming of the Duke and Aegeon to the execution is a device to bring the main groups and the enveloping group together. The Duke directs the clearing up of the tangle in *The Comedy of Errors*;²⁵ Messenio clears up the mystery in the *Menaechmi*. In this scene we find that Antipholus of Ephesus has been a soldier of valor and renown. Antipholus of Ephesus accuses his wife of feasting with harlots, and Amphitruo accuses his wife of incontinence. Both wives in the end are cleared of all blame. The act ends with the recognition scene when the doubles confront each other. Menaechmus II, having searched several years for his twin, seems very stupid not to guess that this man whom he recognizes as like himself and whose name is the same as his is his lost brother. Messenio is quick to sense the relationship, but thorough and deliberate in his questions which must confirm it; one suspects that Messenio is feeling his importance. In *The Comedy of Errors* the resolution moves more rapidly. The Duke suddenly remembers the abbess's story, which she, perhaps years ago, has told him, and this he adds to Aegeon's story of the morning and the events of the last half hour. His conclusion is "two Antipholuses" and "two Dromios." In *Amphitruo*, IV.iii, the

²⁵Shakespeare likes Dukes. We are reminded here of the Duke in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, both because of his part in the enveloping action and because the father in that play is called "Egeus." Professor Baldwin thinks that Shakespeare sometimes played the rôle of a Duke. (Baldwin, T. W., *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, Princeton University Press, 1927, p. 262.)

double masters, and Sosia with Blepharo, are brought together, but the mystery only thickens. The *Menaechmi* is evidently the source here, although in *The Comedy of Errors* there is a grand ensemble of all the characters of any importance, while in the *Menaechmi* only the two brothers and Messenio are present in the final scene. Shakespeare very effectively leaves the two pairs of twins on the stage together for a few moments after the others have gone into the priory. There is a final confusion of identity as Dromio S. addresses the wrong Antipholus as his master, and the Antipholuses follow the others to the feast to which the abbess has bidden them. The Dromios are left alone. The *Menaechmi* ends with a joke of Messenio's at the expense of the absent wife. In the English play the unmarried Dromio jokes about his brother's wife, and Dromio of Ephesus says to his twin:

Methinks you are my glass and not my brother,
I see by you I am a sweet-faced youth,

echoing Sosia's "Surely when I look at him I recognize myself—I've often looked in the glass—he is very much like me."²⁶ Then the twin slaves, hand in hand, follow their twin masters, ready for their share of the festivity. This prospective dinner at the end of the play is quite characteristic of Latin comedy, although neither of the source plays ends with a meal.²⁷

²⁶*certe, edepol, quom illum contemplo,
et formam cognosceo meam
quem ad modum ego sum (saepe in speculum inspexi)
nimi' similest mei.*

(I.i.441-442.)

²⁷In *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare uses again many of the situations which he creates in *The Comedy of Errors*, situations sometimes based on the Latin and sometimes entirely his own. A list of these parallels follows:

In both plays there are twins, a shipwreck in which twins are rescued, but separated, and in which they are afterward mistaken for each other. In both plays there is a feud between cities; in *Twelfth Night* a sea fight grows out of the feud, and Antonio's part in this fight ultimately causes his arrest. In *The Comedy of Errors* the

*A Fifteenth-Century Reconstruction of the Lacuna
in the "Amphitruo"*

In my summary of the *Amphitruo* I mention a fifteenth-century reconstruction of the gap in the manuscript, an original page of which was lost. Reinhardstoettner says that this reconstruction was made by Hermolaus Barbarus, Cardinal of Aquileja (1464-1493), to be used when the *Amphitruo* was played in Rome and Florence. Reinhardstoettner says that this attempt to fill the lacuna can be called no less than successful in both form and content, though the author himself seemed to think lightly of it.²⁸ The lines written by the Italian were printed in an edition which the British Museum Catalogue dates "1500?"²⁹ The author of *The Birth of Hercules* (about 1600)³⁰ follows quite closely these reconstructed scenes, translating or paraphrasing the greater part of them. Laurence Echard in his translation of the *Amphitruo*, published in 1694,

feud causes the arrest of Aegeon; in both plays the man under arrest pleads with the wrong twin for the help which he has every right to expect, and is hurt at the denial and non-recognition. Antonio's arrest and his asking the wrong twin for money while the officer waits is also like Antipholus of Ephesus' sending the wrong Dromio for money. In both plays a purse is given to the wrong person; the newly arrived twin goes to view the town and makes an appointment to meet someone later; a duel is prevented; someone is thought mad and is bound and put in a dark room; the new arrival is mistaken for his twin by a woman with whom he instantly falls in love, and he wonders if he is mad or dreaming and wishes that the dream would last; both mistaken ones speak of witchcraft. In *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare does not borrow from the Latin plays, but from his own play which he has created from the plays of Plautus.

²⁸Reinhardstoettner, K., *Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*. Leipzig, 1886, p. 116.

²⁹Plautus cum correctione & interpretatione H. Merulae, etc. (1500?) 655.c.5.

Plautus, Delphin Classics, London, 1829, Vol. I, p. 40, dates the above folio at about 1503. Hereafter referred to as *Delphin*.

³⁰*The Birth of Hercules, Malone Reprints*, Greg, W. W., 1911, Introduction, p. v.

speaks highly of them.³¹ It seems very probable to me that Shakespeare was familiar with them. In these lines the action goes forward as follows: In the completed scene ii, Mercury, as Sosia, further torments Amphitruo by throwing tiles at him and by telling him that Amphitruo is in the house, embracing Alcmena. Amphitruo tries again to force the door. Mercury goes to fetch his master, and while he is gone the bewildered Amphitruo soliloquizes about the strange things that are happening to him. He doubts his own identity, he calls to mind how men in Arcadia were turned into beasts so that their own parents did not know them, and wonders if he has lost his shape (*formam*),³² since Sosia, as Mercury claims to be, does not recognize him. Other stories of sorcery and of strange transformations by the gods occur to him, all of which tend to increase an atmosphere of illusion, the same sort of atmosphere which makes Antipholus of Syracuse wonder if he "wanders in illusions," think of Lapland sorcerers,³³ and say to Luciana,

Are you a god, would you create me new?

Transform me then, and to your power I'll yield;³⁴

the same sort of atmosphere which makes Dromio joke about being changed to a "curtal-dog" and made to turn the spit.³⁵ Sosia returns with Blepharo, the pilot of Amphitruo's ship, and Blepharo is astonished at Sosia's account

³¹*The Comedies of Plautus*, translated by Riley, H. T., London, 1909, Vol. II, p. 47, n. 4.

³²*Cf. C. of E.*, II.ii.195-198.

Dro. S. I am transformed, master, am I not?

Ant. S. I think thou art in mind, and so am I.

Dro. S. Nay, master, both in mind and in my shape.

Ant. S. Thou hast thine own form.

Dro. S. No, I'm an ape.

³³*C. of E.*, IV.iii.42; IV.iii.11.

³⁴*Ibid.*, III.ii.39-40.

³⁵*Ibid.*, III.ii.147. I do not mean to say that these spurious lines in the *Amphitruo* were by any chance the sole source for Shakespeare's allusions to sorcery; there are many other such allusions in this play, and, indeed, in many English plays of Shakespeare's early dramatic period.

of his double and of a second Amphitruo. They find Amphitruo before the locked door trying to get in, angry with Sosia for the pranks of Mercury, disguised as the slave, and surprised to see his pilot. The incensed Amphitruo starts beating Sosia, but Blepharo steps between them, begging Amphitruo to desist and listen to Sosia's explanation. But when Sosia says that his master, in the presence of his wife, sent Sosia to invite Blepharo to breakfast, Amphitruo grows quite furious, and his slave gets another blow. Then Amphitruo tells of his wife's conduct and, as he believes, of Sosia's locking him out. As he grows violent Blepharo begs, "Please stop and listen to me,"³⁶ and Amphitruo, none too readily, says, "Well, all right. What have you to say?"³⁷ Blepharo advises that Amphitruo look into Sosia's story before he punish the poor fellow again, hinting his wife's actions may be the result of a sorcerer's work. "Enquire in other quarters and see how the matter stands."³⁸

In studying these characters I have suggested that the rôle of Balthazar in *The Comedy of Errors* is not unlike that of Blepharo. Balthazar persuades the locked out Antipholus not to break into his house and bring slander on his wife's and his own name. He speaks of the excellent character of Adriana, and says:

Be ruled by me: depart in patience
And let us to the Tiger all to dinner;
And about evening, come yourself, alone,
To know the reason of this strange restraint.³⁹

"You have prevailed. I will depart in quiet,"⁴⁰ is Antipholus's answer, not unlike that of Amphitruo, "You give good advice, let us go."⁴¹ Then Jupiter comes out of the house,

³⁶Ancula, precor . . . abstine, quaeso, *Delphin, Suppositi*, 49-51.

³⁷Dic, ausculto, *ibid.*, 1.48.

³⁸Inquire aliunde, vide quid siet, *ibid.*, 71.

³⁹*C. of E.*, III.i.94-7.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, III.i.107.

⁴¹Recte mones, eamus, *Delphin, Suppositi*, 79.

asking who is trying to break down the door. He and Amphitruo call each other opprobrious names, and each charges the other with being a sorcerer. But Blepharo and Sosia cannot tell which is the real Amphitruo and which is the impostor. When Jupiter catches Amphitruo by the throat, however, Blepharo, in his character as peacemaker, pleads with Jupiter to stop, and tries to settle the dispute by putting questions to each about details of the battle which Amphitruo has lately fought. Both answer with equal correctness, and both show a scar where Amphitruo has been wounded. Blepharo, entirely bewildered, gives up—and here the original text takes up the action.

The altercation over the closed door, the talk of sorcery and transformation, Amphitruo's doubting his identity, and, more particularly, Blepharo's activity as peacemaker, are suggestive of Shakespeare's play, and of this interpolation as part of the *Amphitruo* text which he used as a source.

*"Apollonius of Tyre" as a Source for the Enveloping
Action in "The Comedy of Errors"*

Although I have nothing new to add to the discovery of Wislicenus of "Apollonius of Tyre" as a possible source for the Aegeon story, I feel that a discussion of the Latin sources would not be complete without a full statement of the points of similarity between the frame-work of *The Comedy of Errors* and "Apollonius of Tyre," so that we may see the influence of mediaeval tale and classical play on each other. As Gower tells the story in his *Confessio Amantis*, Apollonius nearly loses his life in several storms. In the first of these his boat is split upon a rock, and he is rescued by fishermen. Later he is returning home with his young wife, and at the height of a terrible storm their child is born. The mother is thought dead, and because of the superstition of the sailors, who believe that the storm will not cease as long as a corpse is on the boat, she is placed in a water-tight chest and cast overboard, to be washed ashore, picked up by fishermen, and brought back to life at Ephesus.

There she enters a religious house and becomes its head.

His wife as it was Goddes grace
Which was professed at the place,
As she that was an abesse there.⁴²

The father leaves his child with friends to be brought up, and the foster mother, jealous for her own daughter, sends Apollonius's daughter away to be killed. She is rescued by pirates, but sold to a procurer. She escapes all harm and gains a prince for a husband. Then by chance the long-separated parents and child are brought together, and there are recognition and a happy reunion at the temple in Ephesus.

The following points are common to *The Comedy of Errors* and the tale: (1) a storm, a ship split upon a rock, and the father saved on a floating bit of the ship (a plank in one instance, a mast in the other), (2) the mother saved from the sea (in a chest in the tale, on a mast in the play) and rescued by fishermen, only to be separated long years from her family, who also are separated from each other, (3) a child lost to both parents, (4) a mother going into retreat in a religious house, of which she becomes head, (5) the chance meeting, recognition, and happy reunion of the family, (6) the place of the reunion at Ephesus, before a priory in the play, and in a temple in the tale.

In the Prologue of the *Menaechmi*, the father of the twins dies of grief at the loss of his son, and the mother simply drops out of sight, after we are told that she could not tell her children apart and that one son was left with her when the other was taken to Tarentum. She is mentioned only once again in the play, and then in the past tense when her son says that her name was Teuximarcha.⁴³

⁴²*Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins being the Confessio Amantis of John Gower*, edited by Morley, H., London, 1889. Caresbrooke Library, VII, p. 429. *Pericles* is built on the same story. Professor C. Alphonso Smith, in his introduction to *Pericles (Tudor Shakespeare)*, 1913, p. viii) says that the play seems to have been written "late in 1607 or early in 1608." For Shakespeare's part in the play, see *ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

⁴³*Men.*, V.ix.1131. Professor Gaw says in his study (p. 628) that the mother is never mentioned in the Latin play.

But Shakespeare, moved by the romantic spirit, fits them into parts of the Apollonius story, sends Aegeon to search for his son, as the son in the *Menaechmi* searches for his brother, and adds the feud between the two cities,⁴⁴ which brings Aegeon close to death and creates a tragi-comedy. The recognition and reunion combine the romantic spirit of the tale and the comic spirit of the play, but the details and the technique of the scene come chiefly from the *Menaechmi*.

Conclusion

It is reasonable to believe that Shakespeare, intelligent as he was, read Latin fairly well, since he attended a good grammar school when that language was the most important subject in the curriculum. That he read Plautus in school is quite possible; that before he wrote *The Comedy of Errors* he read the *Menaechmi* and the *Amphitruo* I am led to believe by the many points of contact between his play and the Latin plays, a closer relationship than is likely to have resulted from the use of an intermediary play, such as the *Historie of Error*, which certain critics have conjectured was based on Plautus and written in doggerel verse. I have mentioned in the preceding pages many details, not pointed out before, in which *The Comedy of Errors* reflects the two Latin plays, such as the identical hour of the birth of Shakespeare's two pairs of twins, probably suggested by the fact that the "foster mother" of the *Menaechmi* must have had a child near their age; the weariness of the two

⁴⁴The feud may have come from Ariosto's *Suppositi*, or Gascoigne's *Supposes*, II.i. This play is a source for Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, which has in it a scene reminiscent of *The Comedy of Errors*, the scene in which the real father is shut out while the pretended father is within (V.ii). Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant points out this parallel in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. II, p. 349. Plautus' *Rudens* also has points in common with the enveloping action. In the *Rudens* there are a storm, a shipwreck, a lost child, a temple in which those pursued take refuge and are befriended by the head of that institution, and a reunion. The *Rudens* is the basis of Heywood's *Captives*. See Introduction to *The Captives*, ed. Judson, A. C., Yale University Press, 1921.

travelers; the surprise of Antipholus of Syracuse at the quick return of the servant and of Cylindrus at the quick return of Menaechmus II, each mistaken in the returning person; Antipholus of Syracuse's remark that his slave is accustomed to joke and Cylindrus's remarks that Menaechmus is accustomed to joke; both wives' going out impatiently to watch for their husbands; both the father's and Luciana's switch of sympathy from husband to wife; the statement of Antipholus of Syracuse and Menaechmus II to Adriana and Erotium that they have just arrived in the city; Adriana's and Erotium's complaints of being ridiculed; both husbands' complaints to others of their wives' dispositions; the plan of Antipholus of Syracuse and Menaechmus II to escape by an immediate departure by ship; the belief of Antipholus of Syracuse and Menaechmus II that their slaves are impudent when the slaves claim to have met their masters according to orders; Dromio's and Messenio's knowledge that masters must be obeyed; the amazement of Antipholus of Syracuse and Menaechmus II at things that are happening to them; Dromio's bringing, and Messenio's promising to bring, money to the wrong master; the pretended madness of Antipholus of Ephesus and Menaechmus; the inquiry of doctor and abbess into the patient's condition. From the *Amphitruo* there are echoes other than those previously pointed out, namely, the second double, the husband shut out of his home, and the fun that results from the confusion of the servants; Antipholus and his servant, as well as Amphitruo and his servant, lay strange happenings to sorcery; both wives upbraid the wrong husbands for the real husbands' conduct; Dromio of Ephesus and Sosia jokingly persist that they are telling the truth even when they are beaten. Balthazar and Blepharo miss the meal to which they are bidden and counsel restraint; both wives declare that their husbands dined at home; Pinch and Sosia advise humoring the person thought mad; both wives swear innocence; both wives blame their husbands for abetting the servants in their impudence. Furthermore, there are lines known now not to be original,

that were printed in at least one sixteenth-century text to fill the lacuna in the *Amphitruo*, which are like *The Comedy of Errors* in some particulars, such as much talk of sorcery, the quarrel over the closed door, begun in the authentic scenes, the husband's soliloquy over various transformations and doubt of his identity, and the striking similarity of Blepharo's function of peacemaker to that of Balthazar in the same rôle. These lines are used by the author of *The Birth of Hercules* not more—some scholars believe less—than ten years after the composition of *The Comedy of Errors*. Perhaps Shakespeare uses them also.

Shakespeare seems to have assimilated thoroughly the two classical comedies; he has made a remarkable—probably unconscious—selection of details, has added to these some entirely new elements and a touch, at the beginning and the end, of an old tale, and has moulded the whole into an excellently plotted play. He casts aside entirely some parts of the *Menaechmi* as the basic plot, noticeably those which have to do with Peniculus the Parasite, as, for example, all of the first act except part of scene iii, the first and third scenes of the third act, and the first two scenes of the fourth act. But the pattern is there.

The influence of the *Amphitruo* seems to me not only a direct one, answerable for definite plot material, but as I study the plays, it seems an intangible, all-pervading influence, coloring, or better, perhaps, seasoning, the play throughout. Mercury calls the *Amphitruo* a tragi-comedy because both gods and men appear on the stage. But he might have called it a tragi-comedy because of its mixture of near-tragic and comic elements, of the high seriousness of husband and wife and the threatened destruction of their happiness, and the unmoral schemes and tricks of the immortal Jupiter and Sosia. I hope to write later of the noble character of Alcmena and her love for her husband; *Amphitruo* is as far superior to other husbands in Plautine plays as Alcmena is to other wives. He is not merely the jealous male with hurt pride, but he suffers because he really loves his wife. He is sure that she longs for him as

he does for her, and he calls her most excellent of all women in Thebes, extolled so highly and truthfully as virtuous by all the citizens.⁴⁵ He is bringing to her the golden goblet of the conquered king, a trophy publicly presented to him from the spoils taken in battle. Later, even though he believes her untrue to him, when the maid tells him that her delivery of twins was without pain, he exclaims, "I rejoice at this, whatever she may have deserved from me."⁴⁶ He has not left his wife and country to seek pleasure abroad as husbands in Latin comedies frequently do but has gone away to fight for his country; nor, when he is locked out of his house, does he go to some other woman, as *Menaechmus I* does. These two people are helplessly entangled by a force entirely without themselves, though it is true that Mercury's assurance in the Prologue that all will end well destroys the suspense and along with it much of the near-tragedy of the situation. In *The Comedy of Errors* husband and wife, though not entirely serious characters, are far more serious than husband and wife in the *Menaechmi*, but there are two characters as sober as *Amphitruo* and *Alcmena*, and, like them, buffeted by an external force, with execution apparently waiting for one of them at the end of the day. I do not mean that *Aegeon* and *Aemilia*, or the enveloping action which their story furnishes, were suggested by the *Amphitruo*, but I do mean to say that *The Comedy of Errors* is more like the *Amphitruo* in its combination of serious and light elements than like

⁴⁵edepol me uxori exoptatum credo adventurum domum

quae me amat, quam contra amo . . .

certe enim med illi expectatum optato venturum scio.

(II.ii.654-655, 658.)

Amphitruo uxorem salutat lactus speratam suam,
quam omnium Thebis vir unam esse optumam diiudicat,
quamque adeo cives Thebani vero rumiferant probam.

(II.ii.676-678.)

⁴⁶*Amph.* Iam istuc gaudeo
utut erga me merita est.

(V.i.1100-1101.)

the *Menaechmi*.⁴⁷ The contrast in the characters of Jupiter and Sosia must have impressed upon the dramatist the value of such a device, a lesson which he had already begun to learn.

The Comedy of Errors has a closely-knit plot-structure. Not only does the enveloping action add to the dramaturgic excellence of the play, but throughout the play each step is prepared for, as from the beginning, climax and denouement are steady goals. As others have said, the sentence pronounced on Aegeon looks forward to evening and the recognition scene. The review of the situation in the merchant's speech to Antipholus of Syracuse and the merchant's appointment to meet Antipholus at five o'clock again point to and prepare for the same event. In the second scene the progress toward the climax is definitely begun with Dromio of Ephesus' calling the wrong master to dinner. Antipholus of Syracuse's statement that his slave is accustomed to joke with him prepares for the results of mistaken identity being thought the pranks of the jesting servants.

Throughout both Latin plays there run certain motifs which Shakespeare makes use of; for example, that of one's being shut out of his own house, or a house at which he believes he will be welcomed. Sosia is shut out of his master's house in the first scene of the *Amphitruo*, Amphitruo is shut out of his house, for a while alone, and then with Sosia and Blepharo. Menaechmus I is shut out of his own house and out of the courtesan's, and Peniculus would have found himself shut out had he arrived at Erotium's a little earlier, for Menaechmus II gives orders that he is not to be admitted if he comes.⁴⁸ He suspects that he would not

⁴⁷The death of the father of the *Menaechmi*, mentioned in the Prologue, because of grief over his lost child, is the one pathetic touch in the *Menaechmi*.

⁴⁸

neque si uenerit,
eum uolo intromitti.

(II.iii.423-424.)

have been welcome, and when he sees Menaechmus II coming from the house he says that breakfast has been eaten, *parasito excluso foras*.⁴⁹ Shakespeare, instead of scattering these incidents throughout his play, piles them all up in one episode in III.iii, and the result is the climax of the drama. Another motif in both plays is that of jealousy, of the wife in one, and of the husband in the other. These he combines, also, although he fits the type of jealousy to the modified character. Then there is the *prandium* motif; Menaechmus II gets an unexpected meal, but Peniculus and Menaechmus I miss a meal. Blepharo misses his breakfast, and Amphitruo and Sosia certainly find themselves locked out when they come to that meal; whether they get it later or not we do not learn. In *The Comedy of Errors* Balthazar, Antipholus of Ephesus, and Dromio of Ephesus miss their dinner at the home of Antipholus, but have a dinner elsewhere, while the other master and slave dine unexpectedly with the wives of the excluded ones. The courtesan later says to Antipholus of Syracuse, "Will you go with me? we'll mend our dinner here?"⁵⁰ but he declines.

And then there is the money. In the *Menaechmi*, II.iii, Menaechmus II sends Dromio to the inn with his money and baggage, having given him the purse so that it might be safe from any wiles of Erotium. In V.i Menaechmus II is anxious about his money, fearing that Messenio has been cozened out of it, but when the slave meets Menaechmus I, he promises to get the money and bring it to him. In *The Comedy of Errors* I.iii Antipholus of Syracuse sends his slave to the inn with money, but when the other Dromio comes urging him to hurry to dinner, he thinks the servant is jesting to turn his master's attention away from the question of the money, which he must have lost. In II.ii his own slave is beaten because Dromio of Ephesus has denied knowledge of the money. In IV.i the other master

⁴⁹His anger at being shut out and at missing his *prandium*, with his determination to be revenged by telling the wife of the husband's theft of the cloak, is the climax of the *Menaechmi*.

⁵⁰*C. of E.*, IV.iii.60.

sends Dromio of Syracuse for money for his ransom, which Dromio gets, but Dromio of Ephesus gets a beating because he does not bring the money. Angelo asks for money, the other merchant demands it, Antipholus of Syracuse has offered to pay it, Adriana is ready to pay it, and it is finally given to Angelo in the last act.

The beating, popular in Latin comedy,—and in early English drama as well,—as a comic device, is found once and threatened several times in the *Amphitruo* and is threatened in the *Menaechmi*. A servant gets a beating four times in *The Comedy of Errors*.

But the all-pervading motif in the three plays is that of mistaken identity. The addition of the second twin in *The Comedy of Errors* increases the possibility of mistaken identity over such a possibility in the *Menaechmi*. Rouse has pointed out that the proportion of such instances in *The Comedy of Errors* to those in the *Menaechmi* is 50:17, or nearly three to one.⁵¹

On the same basis, the proportion of these instances in *The Comedy of Errors* to those in the *Amphitruo* is 50:8, or about six to one. Although there are two pairs of doubles in the *Amphitruo*, the immortals are of course never fooled, and the number of cases is therefore reduced.

Shakespeare sometimes transfers both speeches and actions from one person to another, usually in instances of minor importance; but always the change strengthens the dramatic situation or character portrayal in his own play.

⁵¹"The analysis of the *Menaechmi* discloses that Menaechmus the Citizen does not meet any strangers until the last scene, when he is confronted with his double. Menaechmus the Traveller has seven such meetings (counting each of the important characters as one); the Wife, the Father, and Messenio have two each. On the other hand: in Shakespeare Antipholus the Citizen has two such meetings, Antipholus the Traveller twelve; Dromio the citizen's man has four, and the other Dromio eleven (counting the house scene as one); Adriana the wife has seven; her sister Luciana eight; the courtesan four; and Luce one. The proportion of Shakespeare to Plautus is 50:17, or nearly three to one." (*The Menaechmi, the Latin Text together with the Elizabethan Translation*, ed. Rouse, W. H. D., London, 1912.)

The most arresting example is the transfer of the father-in-law's function to Luciana and Aemilia, which has been commented on by several scholars. Part of the questioning of the *Medicus* is also given to Aemilia (about instead of to the patient). Antipholus of Ephesus, the less serious brother, pretends madness instead of Menaechmus II. The courtesan instead of the wife first thinks the husband mad, and the Duke instead of the servant establishes the identity of the twins. The father tells of his travel in search of his son as Messenio tells of his master's wanderings in search of his brother. Antipholus of Syracuse fearing for his money, which he has given to Dromio, instead of Messenio, fearing that his master has been caught in the toils of some adventuress, and will lose his money, speaks of the evil reputation of the town. Antipholus of Syracuse expresses wonder at the strange things that happen to him as Menaechmus I does at his unusual experiences capped by Messenio's promise to bring him money. Angelo, because he must give to the merchant the money which Antipholus of Ephesus owes him for the chain, asks Antipholus for the money and argues with him, as Menaechmus I does with Erotium over the mantle, which he must take to his wife.

Shakespeare, with the English moral sense, has given to his play a higher moral tone than that of the Latin comedies, as exemplified in his giving the courtesan a very minor rôle and omitting Peniculus; in Antipholus of Syracuse's going to dinner with Adriana very reluctantly—and then only after he has seen Luciana, the unmarried sister; in his refusal of the courtesan's invitation, and his wanting to pay for the chain and to take ship to escape temptation instead of seek safety as Menaechmus II does. Antipholus of Ephesus' determination, in a fit of hot-tempered revenge, to give to the courtesan a chain promised his wife is not as reprehensible as if he stole from his wife; and Luciana, though a somewhat cynical and worldly-wise young person, is perfectly moral. Even when she finds Antipholus's love-making alluring, she goes to her sister to acquaint her with

the situation. Adriana is ready to settle the debt for the chain that she has not received.

Of Shakespeare's original contributions to the plot of *The Comedy of Errors* the greater part of the enveloping action and the love plot are the most signal. But there is a great number of details which I have catalogued in Table III.

Perhaps the growth of *The Comedy of Errors* out of Plautine material can best be explained as the generous and enthusiastic pouring of the romantic spirit into a mould still influenced by classical restraint. There is the romantic prodigality of characters and episodes—and of puns, of which a greater economy might be approved—and plots, the doubling and multiplying of devices and incidents, the combining and heaping up in climax and denouement. The conclusion is a grand finale, where everything works out to everybody's satisfaction when father, mother, sons, daughter-in-law, prospective daughter-in-law, and faithful servants are united to live happily ever after, with a benign Duke adding the weight of his favor. There is variety of contrast and similarity, of pathos and farce, of near-tragedy and comedy, and the pleasing element of surprise. But the classical unity of time is perfectly observed, and the unity of place only slightly violated;⁵² the various lines of action are skilfully woven together into a fairly well unified and well motivated plot with a very definite climax and a conclusion which is carefully prepared for. Here sixteenth-century romanticism has been going to school—for at least a semester—to Latin classicism.

⁵²For discussion of "place" see New Cambridge edition, pp. 78 (vi)ff.

TWO FURTHER NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF ELYOT'S "GOVERNOUR"

BY WILLET TITUS CONKLIN

Dr. D. T. Starnes, in his article entitled "Shakespeare and Elyot's *Governour*,"¹ has adduced convincing evidence to prove Shakespeare's reliance upon Elyot's book. The two notes following are the direct results of a reading of this article and of further investigation based largely upon the strength of it.

I

In *Henry V*, IV.vii, occurs a speech, not mentioned by Dr. Starnes, which strongly suggests Elyot. Fluellen and Gower are discussing the French treachery of killing "the poys and the luggage." Fluellen compares Henry to Alexander. Now, to one familiar with Elyot's *Governour*, the mention of Alexander in a Shakespearean play already shown to have been influenced by Elyot becomes at once significant. Alexander appears to have been one of Elyot's favorite historical characters; he is mentioned again and again. There is in Fluellen's speech, however, a closer parallel. In *The Governour*, Book II, Chapter VI, the following passage occurs:

Wherwith the great kynge Alexander being (as I mought say)
obsessed, dyd put to vengeable deth his dere frende Clitus. . . .
(p. 137)²

With this let us compare the following from *Henry V*, IV.vii:

Alexander—God knows, and you know—in his rages, and his furies,
and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures,
and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains,
did, in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his pest friend Cleitus.
(36–42)³

¹The University of Texas *Studies in English*, Number 7, 1927, pp. 112–132.

²References to *The Governour* are based upon the *Everyman's Library* edition.

³References to *Henry V* are based upon The Oxford Shakespeare.

In the light of Dr. Starnes's evidence, then, the above parallel seems to me inevitable. A reference to Alexander alone would afford weak evidence indeed; the reference to Alexander and his "dere frende Clitus" is, however, sufficiently unusual to merit consideration, as is also the parallelism of "obsessed" and "being a little intoxicates in his prains," "dyd put to . . . deth" and "did . . . kill."

Concerning this parallel one condition alone seems important: it appears in a humorous scene, whereas all previous evidence has dealt with serious scenes. Whether this hinders the theory that the humorous scenes were of composition separate from or later than the serious scenes is, of course, disputable. The suggestion is, at least, tempting.

II

Regarding Shakespeare's reliance upon *The Governour* in writing *Coriolanus*, I am, however, unconvinced. I should like, therefore, to examine the selections which Dr. Starnes quotes.⁴ First, he finds suggestion in Elyot for *Coriolanus*' insistence upon degree, quoting a rather long passage from *The Governour*⁵ and italicizing the following:

Sens without governaunce and lawes the persones moste stronge in body shulde by violence constraigne them that be of lasse strength and weaker to labour as bondmen or slaves for their sustinaunce and other necessities, the stronge men being without labour or care.

Turning now to *Coriolanus*, III.i, from which the other half of the argued parallels have been taken, Dr. Starnes asks us to compare

By Jove himself!

It makes the consuls base: and my soul aches
To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither supreme, how soon confusion
May enter 'twixt the gap of both and take
The one by the other,—

(106-111)⁶

⁴The University of Texas *Studies in English*, Number 7, pp. 129-131.

⁵*The Governour*, pp. 204-205.

⁶References to *Coriolanus* are based upon the Oxford edition of the Tragedies.

with a chapter heading in *The Governour*:

That one soveraigne governour ought to be in a publike weale. And what damage hath happened where a multitude hath had equal authoritie without any soveraygne (p. 7).

Now, in the speech of Coriolanus already quoted in part, Dr. Starnes says, "... many of the ideas are not dissimilar to those found in Elyot's work." True, but regarding the question whether Shakespeare had, necessarily, to go for the "not dissimilar" ideas to Elyot, one may well look at Plutarch's handling of the identical situation, and especially at the speech therein attributed to Coriolanus. In North's Plutarch⁷ the following appears:

Therefore, saied he, they that *gave counsell*,⁸ and perswaded that the *corne* should be *given* out to the common people *gratis*, as they *used* to do in the cities of *Greece*, where *the people had more absolute power*: did but only *nourish* their *disobedience*, which would breake out in the ende, to the utter *ruine* and overthrow of the whole *state*. . . . Therefore it were a great follie for us, me thinkes to do it; yea, shall I say more? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the *embasing* of the *Consulship*, and the cause of the division of the citie (p. 631).

The phrase, *embasing of the Consulship*, is apparently echoed in the first line of the Shakespearean quotation already cited:

It makes the consuls base

For the rest of the Plutarch passage given above, we have the following from the same scene (III.i):

Whoever *gave that counsel* to give forth
The *corn* of the storehouse *gratis*, as 'twas us'd
Sometime in *Greece*,— . . .
Though there *the people had more absolute power*,
I say, they *nourish'd disobedience*, fed
The *ruin of the state* (112-117).

⁷North's Plutarch, edition of 1595, as reprinted in the Furness Variorum edition of *Coriolanus*, Philadelphia, 1928, pp. 621-645.

⁸The italics are my own.

Dr. Starnes suggests a connection between this and the following from *The Governour*:

Athenes and other cities of Grece, when they had abandoned kinges, and concluded to lyue as it were in a communaltie, which abusifly they called equalitie, howe longe tyme did any of them continue in peace? yea what vacation had they from warres—or what noble man had they which advanced the honour and weale of theyr citie, whom they did not banish or slee in prison? (p. 12)

The quotation undoubtedly refers to the same situation as that mentioned in both *Coriolanus* and its known source, the Plutarch. A comparison of the language of the selections given from Elyot and Plutarch reveals, however, that Shakespeare here follows closely both the thought and the language of Plutarch.

But what of Shakespeare's general reliance upon Elyot for *Coriolanus*' insistence upon degree? Dr. Starnes has proved that the dramatist read *The Governour*; my own note upon *Henry V* may afford, I hope, even further proof. The facts, then, of Elyot's work must by this time have become a part of what Dr. Lowes would call "the deep well" of Shakespeare's dramatic mind. It was inevitable. To a far lesser genius than that of Shakespeare, however, a single reading of *Coriolanus*' life as told in the North Plutarch would leave one impression dominant—an impression to which all others become at once subordinate: *Coriolanus*' insistence upon degree, as it was instilled in him by his mother, Volumnia. The very fusion of the two patterns, Plutarch's and Elyot's, is so complete that any attempt to separate them belongs to the realm of the psychologist.

POE'S DEBT TO COLERIDGE

BY FLOYD STOVALL

I

The object of this paper is to collect and present as clearly as possible the evidence of Poe's debt to Coleridge in poetry and prose fiction, in criticism, and in speculative thought. In seeking to do this, I have necessarily to take account of what has already been accomplished by others; but I hope to add something of my own, and to treat the subject more fully and systematically than has heretofore been done. I shall endeavor to avoid arbitrary or unsupported judgments; indeed I should like to eschew judgments altogether, but I find that impossible without incurring the serious risk of ambiguity. If sometimes I seem to deal in trivialities, let my desire for thoroughness be an excuse. I shall do my best not to exaggerate or subject myself to the charge of attacking Poe's reputation for originality.

Before proceeding to the consideration of influences, however, it is well to know what Poe at various times said of Coleridge. He mentions Coleridge four times in his earliest work of criticism, the "Letter to B——," which he used as a preface to the third edition of his poems, published in 1831.¹ In the first passage mentioning Coleridge, after a disparaging remark about the Lake Poets, he adds: "The wise must bow to the wisdom of such men as Coleridge and Southey, but being wise, have laughed at poetical theories so prosaically exemplified." In the second passage he calls Coleridge "a giant in intellect and learning," yet with diffidence ventures to dispute his authority. In the third passage he says: "We see an instance of Coleridge's liability to err, in his *Biographia Literaria*—professedly his literary life and opinions, but, in fact, a treatise *de*

¹This preface is reproduced in Vol. VII of *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by James A. Harrison. This edition is hereafter referred to as Poe's "*Works*."

omni scibili et quibusdam aliis. He goes wrong by reason of his very profundity" In the fourth passage he writes:

Of Coleridge I cannot speak but with reverence. His towering intellect! his gigantic power: To use an author quoted by himself, "J'ai trouvé souvent que la plupart des sectes ont raison dans une bonne partie de ce qu'elles avancent, mais non pas en ce qu'elles nient," and to employ his own language, he has imprisoned his own conceptions by the barrier he has erected against those of others.²

We next hear from Poe as editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. In December, 1835, he refers to Coleridge's "appreciation of the value of words" and to his power to "discriminate closely approximating meanings."³ The following January he praises a poem by a contemporary as, "like the Christabelle (*sic*) of Coleridge, entitled to be called *great* from its power of creating intense emotion in the minds of great men."⁴ He affirmed his belief that Coleridge had written "the purest of all poems,"⁵ and named him among those poets whom he chose to call "spiritual."⁶ In a review of Allsop's *Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge*, June, 1836, he writes: "But with us (we are not ashamed to confess it) the most trivial memorial of Coleridge is a treasure of inestimable price.

²So reads Poe's original text. The quotation is to be found in the *Biographia Literaria*, London, 1817, p. 121. Coleridge names no source. When Poe reprinted the "Letter to B. . . .," in 1836, he struck out the phrases "to use an author quoted by himself," and "to employ his own language," and so worded his sentence that the reader would not know he had borrowed from Coleridge at all. In both places Poe misquotes by omitting the word "tant" which in the *Biographia Literaria* stands after "pas." The quotation appears in *Marginalia, Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 98, with the same omission, and with no mention of Coleridge.

³Review of Godwin's *Lives of the Necromancers* (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 93).

⁴Review of the poems of Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Gould, and Mrs. Ellet (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 123).

⁵Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 284).

⁶Review of Bryant's poems, January, 1837 (*Works*, Vol. IX, p. 304).

He was indeed a 'myriad-minded man,' and ah, how little understood, and how pitifully vilified!"⁷ He wonders why the *Biographia Literaria* has not been published in America; if it were he thinks it would "do away with the generally received impression here entertained of the mysticism of the writer."

Between 1837 and 1842 he expresses no opinion. When he finally speaks, he seems to have modified his former opinion. Coleridge, he now thinks, "should be regarded as one who might have done much, had he been satisfied with attempting but little."⁸ Consequently, as he remarks some time later, he should be judged, not by what he has done, but "by what he evinces a capability of doing."⁹ In 1845 he refers to Coleridge's "preposterously anomalous metaphysicianism."¹⁰ Having occasion to mention Coleridge as the author of *Aids to Reflection*, Poe remarks parenthetically that he "aided reflection to much better purpose in his 'Genevieve.'"¹¹ Finally, he refers contemptuously to Leigh Hunt's "absurd eulogies on Coleridge's 'Pains of Sleep.'"¹²

⁷*Works*, Vol. IX, p. 51. The epithet "myriad-minded" is borrowed from the *Biographia Literaria*, p. 151, where Coleridge applies it to Shakespeare. Poe's last phrase has reference to the activities of Coleridge's detractors, who did not hesitate to attack him after his death.

⁸Printed among the *Marginalia* in Stedman and Woodberry's edition, Vol. VII, p. 238. See also Poe's article in *Graham's Magazine*, March, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 99).

⁹Review of Hawthorne in *Godey's Lady's Book*, November, 1847 (*Works*, Vol. XIII, p. 149).

¹⁰Review of Mrs. Browning's *Drama of Exile*, *Broadway Journal*, January 4 (*Works*, XII, p. 33). See also *Marginalia* (*Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 150), where the word "preposterously" is omitted. In the *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 7-8, Coleridge calls metaphysics "this preposterous pursuit," and thinks it a "mental disease" injurious to his natural powers.

¹¹Review of Willis's *American Prose Writers*, *Broadway Journal*, January 18, 1845 (*Works*, Vol. XII, p. 37). I suppose Poe alludes not to the juvenile poem "Genevieve," but to the later poem "Love," in which the name of the heroine is Genevieve.

¹²Review of Hunt's *Indicator and Companion*, Part II, *Broadway Journal*, August 30, 1845 (*Works*, Vol. XII, p. 238). For other references to Coleridge, see the following: *Marginalia*, *Works*, Vol. XVI,

To comment at length on these opinions is unnecessary. It is fairly obvious that Poe composed the "Letter to B——" with enthusiasm. He had been reading Coleridge and Wordsworth. His enthusiasm arose, therefore, as I surmise, in part from real pleasure in what he read, and in part from a vain and boyish delight in confuting persons of respect and authority. He belittles their poetry in order to persuade the reader that it has not influenced his own. Perhaps, too, he has not fully recovered from the spell of Byron and Moore. He is much impressed with the erudition of the *Biographia Literaria*. His praise of its author, therefore, is spontaneous and genuine; his occasional strictures, on the other hand, which seem mild enough when compared with his flippant ridicule of Wordsworth, may be charged to the conceit of youth. His references to Coleridge are most favorable around 1836; after that they are mostly noncommittal or derogatory. Corresponding to this change there is perceptible in his work an increasing reluctance to acknowledge his obligations to Coleridge. His passion for originality made him suspicious of others and inordinately apprehensive lest unwittingly he should lay himself open to the charge of imitation.

II

In poetry the effort to be original, or at least to eradicate all traces of influence, produced extraordinary results. It is not my purpose to consider Poe's indebtedness to poets in general. Broadly speaking, he gained in originality as he grew older. The poems of 1827 are decidedly Byronic, although in one or two a Shelleyan flavor may be detected. Moore's influence is strong in the poems of 1829, where, also, echoes of Coleridge first appear. But the witchery of Coleridge is most potently felt in the poems written between 1829 and 1831. Poe must not have been altogether sincere, therefore, or else he confused Coleridge's theories

pp. 61, 72, 128; *Fifty Suggestions*, Vol. XIV, p. 172; *Mystification*, Vol. III, p. 106; and an article on Robert Conrad in *Graham's Magazine*, republished recently with the *Doings of Gotham* (T. O. Mabbott, editor, 1929), p. 96.

with Wordsworth's, when he said in the "Letter to B——" that Coleridge's theories of poetry are "prosaically exemplified." A little farther on in the same essay he speaks as we should expect the author of the poems of 1831 to speak of the author of *Christabel*; that is, as one who apprehends vaguely the mood and manner of Coleridge without understanding thoroughly his meaning and purpose. Thus Poe: "In reading that man's poetry I tremble—like one who stands upon a volcano, conscious, from the very darkness bursting from the crater, of the fire and the light that are weltering below."

Only four poems—*The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, and *Youth and Age*—have been prominently mentioned as having influenced Poe's verse. Professor Harry T. Baker¹³ finds in the albatross, the angel's song that "makes the heavens be mute," and the calm of the sea in *The Ancient Mariner* the originals of the albatross of *Al Aaraaf*, the song of Israfel at which the stars are mute, and the sea's hideous serenity in *The City in the Sea*. He thinks *The Sleeper* is "most definitely influenced," finding in it an atmosphere "delicately redolent of Coleridge," besides the following particulars that suggest *Christabel*: tetrameter verse (chiefly iambic), midnight, moonlight, and a strange lady from afar. He believes there is more than "coincidence" in the likeness between these lines from *Christabel*,

That saints will aid if men will call,
For the blue sky bends over all—

and the following from *The Raven*:

"Prophet," said I, "thing of evil!—prophet still,
if bird or devil!
By that Heaven that bends above us—by that God we
both adore—
Tell his soul with sorrow laden . . ."

Finally, he reiterates the theory that "the repetends of *Ulalume*, *Lenore*, and *The Raven* were suggested by Coleridge in *Christabel* and other poems. Even *The Haunted*

¹³"Coleridge's Influence on Poe's Poetry," *Modern Language Notes*, March, 1910, Vol. XXV, pp. 94-95.

Palace, he thinks, has "certain faint mist-wreaths of *Kubla Khan* hanging about it." It is his conclusion, therefore, that "in the light of such evidence it becomes questionable whether Poe's originality as a poet has not been at least a trifle overestimated."

Professor James Routh¹⁴ points out the similarity between the dome of Nesace's palace in *Al Aaraaf* and *Kubla Khan*'s "dome in air," and adds that Poe must have written with Coleridge's poem in mind. He holds that *Fairy-Land*, especially in its latter part, is a satire on *Kubla Khan*, and calls attention to the following similarities in setting: in the one a "deep romantic chasm" and a "waning moon" in association with enchantment, and in the other "dim vales" and sleep-inducing moons that wax and wane. He also alludes to Poe's yellow albatross, which of course suggests *The Ancient Mariner* rather than *Kubla Khan*.

Professor Killis Campbell¹⁵ sees an "unconscious reproduction" of Coleridge's style in *The City in the Sea* and other poems. Poe's line in the earlier *To Helen*,

Like those Nicéan barks of yore,

bears, as he points out, a "manifest resemblance" to the line,

Like those trim skiffs, unknown of yore,

of Coleridge's *Youth and Age*.

I have only a few items of my own to add to these particulars. They are far from being conclusive, and I merely mention them for what they are worth. First I desire to point out the vague but unmistakable likeness between two passages in *The Sleeper* hitherto unnoticed and corresponding passages in *Christabel*. In the early (1831) version of *The Sleeper* there are two lines—

Lady, awake! lady awake;
For the holy Jesus' sake!—

¹⁴"Notes on the Sources of Poe's Poetry: Coleridge, Keats, Shelley" (*Modern Language Notes*, March, 1914, Vol. XXIX, pp. 72-75).

¹⁵*The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, 1917, p. xlviii.

which produce in the mind of the reader the same effect as two similar lines in *Christabel*—

Hush, beating heart of Christabel!
Jesu, Maria, shield her well! (Lines 53–54)

Compare, also, the following passages:

Oh, lady bright! can it be right—
This window open to the night?
The wanton airs, from the tree-top,
Laughingly through the lattice drop—
The bodiless airs, a wizard rout,
Flit through thy chamber in and out,
And wave the curtain canopy
So fitfully—so fearfully—
Above the closed and fringed lid
'Neath which thy slumb'ring soul lies hid,
That, o'er the floor and down the wall,
Like ghosts the shadows rise and fall!
Oh, lady dear, hast thou no fear?
Why and what art thou dreaming here?
(*The Sleeper*, lines 18–31)

With open eyes (ah woe is me!)
Asleep, and dreaming fearfully,
Fearfully dreaming, yet, I wis,
Dreaming that alone, which is—
O sorrow and shame! Can this be she,
The lady, who knelt at the old oak tree?
(*Christabel*, lines 292–297)

The name “Lalage,” which occurs in *Politian*, may have been suggested by one of Lessing's poems translated by Coleridge, the first stanza of which is as follows:

I ask'd my fair one happy day
What I should call her in my lay;
By what sweet name from Rome or Greece;
Lalage, Neaera, Chloris,
Sappho, Lesbia, or Doris,
Arethusa or Lucrece.¹⁶

¹⁶Perhaps, however, as Professor Campbell points out (*op. cit.*, p. 230), the suggestion of the name came from Horace, *Odes*, I, xxii.

Finally, let me quote two passages from Coleridge's *Limbo*:

The sole true Something—This, in Limbo's Den.
 It frightens Ghosts, as here Ghosts frighten men.
 Thence cross'd unseized—and shall some fated hour
 Be pulverized by Demogorgon's power
 And given as poison to annihilate souls—

 'Tis a strange place, this Limbo!—not a Place
 Yet name it so;—where Time and weary Space
 Fettered from flight, with night-mare sense of fleeing,
 Strive for their last crepuscular half-being.

The Something described in the first passage, with its power to annihilate souls, is suggestive of the incorporate Silence of Poe's *Sonnet—Silence*, which is more terrible than the corporate silence, Death. The second passage, describing Limbo, is not unlike Poe's description in *Dream-Land* of that

wild weird clime that lieth, sublime,
 Out of SPACE—out of TIME.

It seems proper to consider here, also, certain traces of the influence of Coleridge's poetry on Poe's imaginative tales.

In the introduction (p. 12) to her edition of the *Tales of Edgar Allan Poe* (1928) Professor Blanche Colton Williams has suggested that the *MS. Found in a Bottle* "probably grew from appreciation of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' and its marginalia," but has not set forth in detail the data on which she bases her suggestion. I have arranged below a few of these details in parallel columns.

The Ancient Mariner

MS. Found in a Bottle

And ice, mast high, came
 floating by,
 As green as emerald.
 (I.53-54)
 The ice was here, the ice
 was there,
 The ice was all around.
 (I.59-60)

". . . ramparts of ice . . . looking
 like the walls of the universe."
 (II.13)

The Ancient Mariner

We were the first that
 ever burst
 Into that silent sea.
 (II.105-106)

About, about, in reel and
 rout
 The death-fires danced at
 night;
 The water, like a witch's
 oils,
 Burnt green, and blue and
 white.
 (II.127-130)

The Mariner's ship meets a "spectre-bark," which, as well as the mariner's ship itself at times, is carried on without a wind or against the wind.
 (II.202; V.335, 390)

First the Mariner's ship is driven by a hurricane (I.41), and later it is moved by a supernatural wind that does not touch the sails yet makes a roaring noise (V. 309 ff.). Again the ship is carried forward with "a sudden bound" yet is not overturned.

The gloss states that the ship was "driven by a storm toward the south pole."
 (I.41)

The albatross figures prominently in the poem.
 (*Passim*)

MS. Found in a Bottle

"We were . . . farther to the southward than any previous navigators."
 (II.6)

"Eternal night continued to envelope us, all unrelieved by the phosphoric sea-brilliance to which we had been accustomed in the tropics."
 (II.6)

The narrator's ship meets a strange ship, which "bore up under a press of sail in the very teeth of that supernatural sea, and of that ungovernable hurricane."
 (II.7)

The narrator hears a "loud, humming noise," and a moment later a terrific blast of wind strikes the ship and sweeps it on, yet miraculously it does not sink.
 (II.3)

"Perhaps this current leads us to the southern pole itself." The ship is actually carried down by a whirlpool, presumably at the pole.
 (II.14)

"At times we gasped for breath at an elevation beyond the albatross."
 (II.6)

Two other tales bear some evidence, I think, of Coleridge's influence. *Silence—A Fable* may owe something in style, atmosphere, and content to Coleridge's *Wanderings of Cain*, which was first printed in the *Bijou* of 1828 and reprinted with his poetical works in 1828, 1829, and 1834. In both the style is poetic and evidently modeled on the language of the Bible. Both deal with the supernatural, and the atmosphere of silence, desolation, and terror is common to both. In the *Wanderings of Cain* an unhappy man stands under a rock, then flees away in terror, but returns; in *Silence—A Fable* an unhappy man sits on a rock, then flees away in terror, but does not return. Coleridge speaks of a God of the dead who is antagonistic to the God of the living; Poe hears his story, not indeed from the God of the dead, but from a daemon who sits in the shadow of the tomb, and who is the enemy of living man. The other tale that may owe something to Coleridge is the *Masque of the Red Death*. The Prince in this story, it will be remembered, had retired to a magnificent abbey to escape the plague, and had taken with him his courtiers, musicians, buffoons, and ballet-dancers. In the seven voluptuous chambers of the abbey the Prince has arranged an elaborate masquerade. Poe describes them thus:

To the right and left, in the middle of each wall, a tall and narrow Gothic window looked out upon a closed corridor which pursued the windings of the suite. These windows were of stained glass whose color varied in accordance with the prevailing hue of the decorations of the chamber into which it opened. . . . Now in no one of the seven apartments was there any lamp or candelabrum, amid the profusion of golden ornaments that lay scattered to and fro or depended from the roof. There was no light of any kind emanating from lamp or candle within the suite of chambers. But in the corridors that followed the suite, there stood, opposite to each window, a heavy tripod, bearing a brazier of fire that projected its rays through the tinted glass and so glaringly illumined the room. And thus were produced a multitude of gaudy and fantastic appearances.

There is in Coleridge's description of the Temple of Superstition in his *Allegoric Vision*, which was printed as a part of the introduction to the *Lay Sermon Addressed to*

the Higher and Middle Classes and appended to the *Biographia Literaria*, but included with the poetical works in 1829 and 1834, a passage very similar to the description just quoted from Poe's tale. I quote only the most pertinent part of the description:

Every part of the building was crowded with tawdry ornaments and fantastic deformity. On every window was portrayed, in glaring and inelegant colours, some horrible tale or preternatural incident, so that not a ray of light could enter, untinged by the medium through which it passed. The body of the building was full of people, some of them dancing in and out, in unintelligible figures, with strange ceremonies and antic merriment, while others seemed convulsed with horror, or pining in mad melancholy.

These may in themselves, be trifles; but if taken in conjunction with the more weighty evidence of Coleridge's influence on Poe to be found in the essays and reviews, they acquire an added significance. I turn now to an examination of these essays and reviews with a view to ascertaining the extent of Poe's indebtedness to Coleridge in criticism.

III

Poe was ambitious to establish himself as a critic and a literary leader in America, but he realized that to do so he must be familiar with the literature and thought of other times than his own. He was a journalist, however, with the journalist's bias for all that is contemporary, and, besides, had scant time for general reading in the literature of the past. In his search for the knowledge he needed he was therefore constrained to make the most of such hand-books, encyclopedias, and other similar short cuts as he could lay his hands on. Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* was to him a treasure, for it not only contained a digest of an entire school of philosophy and criticism, but also made reference to a variety of sources to which he might not otherwise have been introduced. After a careful reading of this book he could discourse with some assurance on A. W. Schlegel's theories of criticism, for instance, or on Schelling's system of identity with but little first-hand

acquaintance with the writings of these authors. The question arises, then, whether an idea which Poe held in common with both Coleridge and Schlegel was borrowed, if borrowed at all, from one or the other.

The question would be simple if we knew which he read first. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, which was the only work of Schlegel's which materially influenced Poe, was translated into English in 1815. Professor F. C. Prescott thinks that Poe had read this book before writing the "Letter to B——," basing his opinion on the fact that Poe uses the phrase "the bee Sophocles," and that Schlegel "refers to the fact that Sophocles was called the 'Attic Bee.'"¹⁷ But is it not a fact that Sophocles was known generally among the ancients as the "Attic Bee"? And could not Poe have come across the epithet in numerous other places? Since Poe does not name Schlegel nor otherwise allude to him in this essay, I much doubt whether he had read the *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* at this time. His earliest reference to Schlegel occurs in a review of the poems of Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Gould, and Mrs. Ellet, published in January, 1836.¹⁸ That Poe had read the *Biographia Literaria* (1817) before writing the "Letter to B——" goes without saying, for the critical theories there mentioned were unquestionably borrowed from Coleridge's book. These same theories, moreover, as I have tried to show elsewhere,¹⁹ were conceived at least as early as 1829, the date of the publication of *Al Aaraaf*. It is highly probable, therefore, that Poe had read the *Biographia Literaria* at that date or earlier. The very fact that Coleridge was one of the most famous and influential poets and critics living at the time would have led the young American poet and critic to read his literary autobiography at the first opportunity.

¹⁷*Selections from the Critical Writings of Edgar Allan Poe* (1909), pp. xxx, 325.

¹⁸*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 126.

¹⁹In "An Interpretation of Poe's 'Al Aaraaf,'" *The University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 9 (1929), p. 123 ff.

In view of these facts, it seems to me probable that Poe owed most to Coleridge for such ideas as he held in common with Coleridge and Schlegel, even though in the development of those ideas he ultimately had recourse to the latter. The same is true of Schelling. Some of Poe's philosophical ideas that came to him through Coleridge are to be found most fully developed in the writings of Schelling. Poe had no opportunity to read Schelling unless he read him in the original German, for practically nothing of Schelling's work was translated until long after Poe's death.²⁰ It may be, as one writer has said,²¹ that Coleridge is indebted to Schlegel for most of his principles of criticism; and he himself readily admitted that his philosophical principles were largely identical with Schelling's, though he denied that he had borrowed, explaining that their theories were the same because they learned them from the same masters.²² It will thus be practically impossible to prove that in a given case Poe was influenced by Coleridge to the exclusion of others whose ideas corresponded so closely to his, nor shall I attempt to offer such proof. I wish merely to make my own position clear. Poe's first and chief debt was to Coleridge; to Schlegel and Schelling he probably owed little directly, having been drawn to them through Coleridge. If he appeared sometimes to give credit to Schlegel and Schelling that might have belonged to Coleridge, it was because of a desire to appear and to be a man of erudition; and if as he grew older he became less enthusiastic in his admiration of Coleridge, it was because of an abnormal desire to appear and to be an original critic, and, consequently, a grow-

²⁰According to Bayard Quincy Morgan, *A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 16, 1922. In seeking in Coleridge's writing the source of Poe's ideas, I take no account of those works which were not published until after Poe's death.

²¹Anna Augusta Helmholtz, *The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series, Vol. 3, No. 4. 1907.

²²*Biographia Literaria*, pp. 72-73.

ing reluctance to admit, even to himself, perhaps, his obligation to the author of the *Biographia Literaria*.

Let me say at the very beginning that the theories which Poe and Coleridge held in common,—or perhaps it would be more correct to say the theories which Poe developed from suggestions found in the writings of Coleridge,—are almost wholly concerned with poetry. Poe's criticism of the short story derives from Coleridge only in so far as it embodies the same general principles that constitute his theory of poetry. What, then, is Poe's theory of poetry, and what evidence is there that it was derived, in part at least, from Coleridge? I believe I might assume that most readers of this essay are familiar with the elements of Poe's theory; but I hope I may be allowed, in the interest of clearness and brevity, to enumerate here what I consider to be the most characteristic and hence the most important constituent ideas in that theory. I find the following:

1. The immediate object of poetry is pleasure, not truth.
2. The pleasure derived from the poem differs from that derived from the romance in being indefinite, not definite.
3. Music is an essential element in poetry.
4. Beauty is the sole province of the poem.
5. Poetic Beauty has the quality of strangeness or novelty.
6. The poem must have unity or totality of effect or interest (the terms are variously combined).
7. The true poem must be brief.
8. Passion and poetry are discordant.
9. The tone of the poem should be sadness or melancholy.

Other ideas closely related to poetic theory are reserved for the next section of this essay because they are philosophical as well as critical in their import. There may be others yet; I do not pretend to have exhausted the list even of important ideas. The grounds on which my analysis rests should appear as the examination of the individual items proceeds.

The first three of these nine characteristic ideas are announced in the "Letter to B——," and the first, respecting the immediate object of poetry, is particularly emphasized. He pretends to oppose the poetic theory of the Lake School,

which he calls "the most singular heresy" in the history of modern poetry. This heresy, which he defines rather incoherently, is what afterwards in *The Poetic Principle* and elsewhere he condemned as the "heresy of the didactic," though in his later references he refrained from naming the heretics so explicitly. He attacks the supposed didacticism of Wordsworth with the naïve argument that since the end of existence is happiness, the end of all instruction must be happiness; and that since happiness is but another word for pleasure, so the aim of instruction should be pleasure. It is amusing to observe how freely he borrows the ideas and even the very words of Coleridge and Wordsworth in venturing, with diffidence as he says, "to dispute their authority." "Aristotle," wisely asserts the young critic, "with singular assurance, has declared poetry the most philosophical of all writing—but it required a Wordsworth to pronounce it the most metaphysical." In a footnote to the phrase "most philosophical of all writing" he adds the following words in Latin characters: "spoudiotaton kai philosophikotaton genos." The phrase is perhaps borrowed from Coleridge, who objects to Wordsworth's occasional matter-of-factness "as contravening the essence of poetry, which Aristotle pronounces to be σπουδαιοτατον και φιλοσοφωτατον γενος, the most intense, weighty, and philosophical product of human art."²³ I presume Coleridge was quoting the *Poetics* from memory, altering it to suit his purpose; for he not only inverts the order of the original, but changes the form of the adjectives from the comparative to the superlative. Poe faithfully repeats Coleridge's errors and introduces a new one besides, using a late form of the adjective, *philosophikotaton*, instead of the classical *philoso-*

²³*Biographia Literaria*, p. 214. In his note on Poe's quotation Professor Prescott (p. 324) quotes the entire sentence from the *Poetics*, IX, 3: διο και φιλοσοφωτερον και σπουδαιοτερον ποιησις ιστοριας εστιν, which he translates, "Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history." He adds the conjecture that Poe got the phrase from Wordsworth, who in the *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* (1800) says: "Aristotle, I have been told, has said, that Poetry is the most philosophic of all writing. . . ."

phitaton. The entire quotation, all errors included, was repeated years later.²⁴ In a single paragraph near the end of the essay he formulates his theory of poetry, thus:

A poem, in my opinion, is opposed to a work of science by having, for its *immediate* object, pleasure, not truth; to romance, by having for its object an *indefinite* instead of a definite pleasure, being a poem only so far as this object is attained; romance presenting perceptible images with definite, poetry with *indefinite* sensations, to which end music is an essential, since the comprehension of sweet sound is our most indefinite conception. Music, when combined with a pleasureable idea, is poetry; music without the idea is simply music; the idea without the music is prose from its very definitiveness.

What was meant by the invective against him who had no music in his soul?

Now with this should be compared the following passage from the *Biographia Literaria*:

A poem is that species of composition, which is opposed to works of science, by proposing for its immediate object pleasure, not truth; and from all other species (having this object in common with it) it is discriminated by proposing to itself such delight from the whole, as is compatible with a distinct gratification from each component part.²⁵

Obviously Poe's first clause is borrowed, almost word for word from Coleridge's first clause. Their opinion of the object of poetry is absolutely identical. Yet, as I have already shown, Poe's expressed purpose in writing the "Letter to B——" was to dispute the alleged doctrine of Coleridge and the other Lake Poets that the object of poetry is truth, or instruction.

Poe's second idea is that the pleasure to be derived from a poem is indefinite, whereas that derived from a prose romance is definite. Coleridge, too, makes a distinction between the pleasure derived from the poem and the romance; for we learn by the context that the "other species" referred

²⁴Review of Cockton's *Stanley Thorn*, *Graham's Magazine*, January, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 12). See also Vol. XII, p. 15, where he quotes the phrase in Greek characters without a translation, and denies its truth.

²⁵*Biographia Literaria*, p. 148.

to as having an object common with poetry are the novel and the romance. The mere "superaddition of metre, with or without rhyme," does not make a poem of a prose romance.

If metre be superadded, all other parts must be made consonant with it. They must be such as to justify the perpetual and distinct attention to each part, which an exact correspondent recurrence of accent and sound are calculated to excite.²⁶

Such attention to sound and accent does not imply definite conceptions nor involve the reasoning faculty at all. The reader is "carried forward, not merely or chiefly by the mechanical impulse of curiosity, or by a restless desire to arrive at the final solution; but by the pleasurable activity of mind excited by the attractions of the journey itself."²⁷ The pleasure derived from sound and accent is of necessity indefinite, and since the effect of the whole poem must be consonant with that of each component part, that too is indefinite. But what does Poe mean by the word "indefinite" as here used? In speaking of Tennyson, he says:

There are passages in his works which rivet a conviction I had long entertained, that the *indefinite* is an element in the true *ποιησις*. Why do some persons fatigue themselves in attempts to unravel such phantasy-pieces as the "Lady of Shalot?" . . . If the author did not deliberately propose to himself a suggestive indefiniteness of meaning, with the view of bringing about a definitiveness of vague and therefore of spiritual *effect*—this, at least, arose from the silent analytical promptings of that poetic genius which, in its supreme development, embodies all orders of intellectual capacity. I *know* that indefinitiveness is an element of the true music—I mean the true musical expression.²⁸

This spiritual effect is, of course, akin to that elevation of soul which Poe called the sentiment of poesy, and which he believed to be allied to that "instinct or primitive sentiment of worship" that phrenologists call Veneration.²⁹ Coleridge

²⁶*Ibid.*, immediately preceding the passage quoted above.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁸*Marginalia, Works*, Vol. XVI, pp. 28-29.

²⁹Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. X, p. 282).

likewise associates indefiniteness with deep feelings. He urges his readers to habituate

the intellect to clear, distinct, and adequate conceptions concerning all things that are the possible objects of clear conception, and thus to reserve the deep feelings which belong, as by a natural right to those obscure ideas that are necessary to the moral perfection of the human being, notwithstanding, yes, even in consequence, of their obscurity—to reserve these feelings, I repeat, for objects, which their very sublimity renders indefinite, no less than their indefiniteness renders them sublime: namely, to the ideas of being, form, life, the reason, and the law of conscience, freedom, immortality, God!⁸⁰

Elsewhere Coleridge says that he agrees with Aristotle that poetry is “the most catholic and abstract” of arts.³¹ This identification of the indefinite and the infinite or sublime is an important part of Poe’s theory of poetry. From Professor Norman Foerster it elicits the following comment: “Does it follow that, since the infinite is indefinite, the indefinite is also the infinite, the spiritual? To argue so is to commit one of the grossest logical blunders, as Poe, with his analytical mind, might have been expected to demonstrate.”³² Perhaps Poe may be excused on the ground that he was led to commit this logical blunder by a too implicit faith in the logic of Coleridge, who first committed it.

Poe’s third idea, that music is essential to poetry, is implicit in Coleridge’s requirement that poetry should have “an exact correspondent recurrence of accent and sound.” Poe means the same thing when he says that “verse originates in the human enjoyment of equality.”³³ The idea of equality, he explains, “embraces those of similarity, proportion, identity, repetition, and adaptation or fitness.”

³⁰*The Friend*, p. 63.

³¹*Biographia Literaria*, p. 214. Professor Prescott thinks Poe may have got the idea of the indefinite from Wordsworth, who, in the preface to the 1815 edition of his poems, informs us that the poetic imagination “recoils from everything but the plastic, the pliant, and the indefinite.” See *Prescott*, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 328, notes.

³²*American Criticism*, p. 39.

³³*The Rationale of Verse*, Works, Vol. XIV, pp. 218–219.

Rhythm, rhyme, meter, and the line are but modes of equality.³⁴ "The perception of pleasure in the equality of sounds is the principle of *music*," he thinks; and he designates verse as "an inferior or less capable music."³⁵ I do not think Coleridge would have agreed that poetry is a less capable Music, though he did say that the "sense of musical delight, with the power of producing it," is one of the proofs of poetic genius.³⁶ And, he adds, "the man that hath not music in his soul' can never be a genuine poet." This quotation may have suggested Poe's question in the "Letter to B——" as to the meaning of the invective against him who had no music in his soul. Late in life Coleridge said of himself: "I could write as good verses now as ever I did, if I were perfectly free from vexations, and were in the *ad libitum* hearing of fine music, which has a sensible effect in harmonising my thoughts, and in animating and, as it were, lubricating my inventive faculty." With this confession may be compared Poe's statement that music is "one of the moods of poetical development," and that in music "the soul most nearly attains the end upon which we have commented—the creation of supernal beauty."³⁷

This brings us to the central idea in Poe's theory of poetry, the idea that Beauty is the sole province of the poem. It is hardly necessary to repeat his famous definition of the poetry of words as *The Rhythmical Creation of Beauty*. If pleasure, then, is the immediate object of the poet, Beauty is the means by which he is enabled to produce it.

"That pleasure," says Poe, "which is at once the most pure, the most elevating, and the most intense, is derived, I maintain, from the contemplation of the Beautiful. In the contemplation of Beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation, or excitement, of the soul, which we recognize as the Poetic Sentiment."³⁸

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 225–226, 247.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 219–220.

³⁶*Biographia Literaria*, p. 152.

³⁷Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 74). Cf. a similar remark in *The Poetic Principle*.

³⁸*The Poetic Principle*, *Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 275.

The poetic sentiment, or sense of the beautiful, is, like veneration, an immortal instinct inherent in each individual;³⁹ but of course poets are more highly endowed with it than others, and it is by awaking or stimulating this sense in others by the creation of beauty that the poet gives pleasure. But what is Beauty? Poe thinks of Beauty as order, proportion, harmony.⁴⁰ This is in accord with his statement in *The Rationale of Verse*, already referred to, that verse originates in the human enjoyment of equality. Coleridge, too, makes harmony, proportion, the essential virtue of a poem.

But if the definition sought for be that of a legitimate poem, I answer, it must be one the parts of which mutually support and explain each other; all in their proportion harmonizing with, and supporting the purpose and known influences of metrical arrangement.⁴¹

He goes on to say in this connection that a "harmonious whole" can only be obtained by a "studied selection and artificial arrangement" of the component parts. He does not insist on this point so much as Poe, however, nor does he use the word "Beauty" so frequently or so pointedly. He does say, though, that in reading a poem the reader should be excited "by the attractions of the journey." Again in distinguishing between the language of prose and the language of poetry, he asserts that in prose words must "express the intended meaning, and no more . . . But in verse you must do more;—there the words, the *media*, must be beautiful."⁴² Coleridge's "legitimate poem" corresponds to Poe's "poetry of words"; and if we agree with Poe that beauty and harmony are synonymous terms, then the two definitions are approximately equivalent. I do not assert,

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁴⁰Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 73). In the *Marginalia* (*Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 137) he says the "mathematical recognition of equality . . . seems to be the root of all Beauty." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴¹*Biographia Literaria*, p. 149.

⁴²*Table Talk*, p. 238.

however, that Poe's definition was suggested by Coleridge's.⁴³

Akin to the idea that beauty is the sole province of the poem is the further idea, also characteristic of Poe's theory, that poetic beauty must have the quality of strangeness, or novelty. He was fond of quoting Bacon as an authority on the subject. In his essay on "Anastatic Printing" Poe writes:

"There is no exquisite beauty," says Bacon, "without some strangeness in the proportions." The philosopher had reference, here, to beauty in its common acceptance; but the remark is equally applicable to all the forms of beauty—that is to say, to everything which arouses profound interest in the heart or intellect of man. In every such thing, strangeness—in other words, *novelty*—will be found a principal element. . . . Nothing, unless it be novel—not even *novelty itself*—will be the source of very intense excitement among men.⁴⁴

The poet creates beauty by producing novel combinations of materials and forms which individually may be familiar enough.⁴⁵ Bacon's was a name to conjure with; consequently Poe used it at every opportunity. He seemed to avoid mentioning Coleridge, on the other hand, to whom I think he was really indebted for the idea—or perhaps, more accurately, to Coleridge and Wordsworth as interpreted in the *Biographia Literaria*. It is the "character and privilege of genius," says Coleridge, to "carry on the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood; to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with the appearances which every day for perhaps forty years had rendered familiar."⁴⁶ In the same connection he adds: "In poems,

⁴³Poe's definition was formulated probably ten years after the publication of "The Letter to B-----," and though I agree with Professor Prescott that, in all likelihood, Schlegel's theory of beauty greatly influenced Poe's, I cannot believe that this influence was felt until long after Poe had become familiar with Coleridge's critical writings. See Prescott, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi.

⁴⁴*Essays and Miscellanies, Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 153.

⁴⁵Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 73).

⁴⁶*Biographia Literaria*, p. 41.

equally as in philosophic disquisitions, genius produces the strongest impressions of novelty, whilst it rescues the most admitted truths from the impotence caused by the very circumstance of their universal admission." In explaining the occasion and plan of the *Lyrical Ballads* Coleridge writes: "During the first year that Mr. Wordsworth and I were neighbors, our conversations turned frequently on the two cardinal points of poetry, the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of nature, and the power of giving the interest of novelty by the modifying colours of imagination."⁴⁷ They agreed that Coleridge was to write of the supernatural, things in themselves strange, whereas Wordsworth proposed "to give the charm of novelty to things of every day, and to excite a feeling analogous to the supernatural, by awakening the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom, and directing it to the loveliness and the wonders of the world before us." This agreement was made in 1797; but that Coleridge did not change his opinion is evidenced by the statement in the *Biographia Literaria*, written nearly a score of years later, that one of the promises of genius in a young writer is "the choice of subjects very remote from the private interests and circumstances of the writer himself."⁴⁸

Not only must a poem have the quality of novelty, but its materials and forms must be so arranged as to produce an effect of totality or unity. In the short poem, Poe explains,

the understanding is employed, without difficulty, in the contemplation of the picture *as a whole*; and thus its effect will depend, in great measure, upon the perfection of its finish, upon the nice adaptation of its constituent parts, and especially, upon what is rightly termed by Schlegel *the unity or totality of interest*.⁴⁹

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁹Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 79). A similar statement appears in a review of the poems of Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Gould, and Mrs. Ellet in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, January, 1836 (*Works*,

The italicized phrase seems to have been borrowed from Schlegel, but I am inclined to think the idea involved had been previously adopted by Poe as a part of his theory of poetry.⁵⁰ *Tamerlane* and *Al Aaraaf*, Poe's only two long poems, unless we include the dramatic fragment, *Politian*, were published in 1827 and 1829 respectively. He never afterwards wrote a poem of more than approximately one hundred lines, which he conceived to be the maximum length of a true poem.⁵¹ If the effect to be produced is increased in intensity, the length must be shortened correspondingly. The chief new poems published in 1831 were about fifty lines in length. I have already shown that his interest in Coleridge was very great about this time. I am much persuaded that both his poetry and his theory were profoundly influenced at this time by his study of the *Biographia Literaria*. He eventually abandoned Schlegel's phrase "unity of interest" and adopted in its place the phrase "unity of effect" or "unity of impression," which so much better expresses the idea in his mind and the character of his poems. Sometimes he varies the phrase to "totality of effect or impression."⁵² In the passage above quoted, where Poe refers to Schlegel, he mentions as a quality of the poem coördinate with unity of interest "the nice adaptation of its constituent parts." With this we may

Vol. VIII, p. 126), and the idea recurs frequently in Poe's reviews and essays.

⁵⁰Professor Prescott says (*op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi), "He undoubtedly got from Schlegel the principle of 'unity' or totality of interest." But in another place (p. xxxiii) he modifies the force of this statement by saying, "He doubtless found in Coleridge, as in Schlegel, authority for his principle of unity,—as for example in Coleridge's 'tone and spirit of unity,'—'reducing multitude into unity of effect.'" It is not improbable that Coleridge was influenced by Schlegel to adopt the idea, and Schlegel, as Professor Prescott points out, had found the idea, or the source of the idea, in reading De la Motte (see Prescott's note, p. 331).

⁵¹*The Philosophy of Composition*, Works, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

⁵²See *A Chapter of Suggestions* (1845), Works, Vol. XIV, p. 188, and *The Poetic Principle* and *The Philosophy of Composition*, *passim*.

compare Coleridge's definition, already quoted, requiring that the component parts of the poem shall "mutually support and explain each other; all in their proportion harmonizing, etc." The poet, says Coleridge, "diffuses a tone and spirit of unity, that blends, and (as it were) fuses, each to each, by that synthetic and magical power to which we have exclusively appropriated the name of imagination."⁵³ Among the evidences of poetic genius in a young poet he includes "the power of reducing multitude into unity of effect, and modifying a series of thoughts by some one predominant thought or feeling."⁵⁴ In poetry, he says again, the words ought to attract attention, "yet not so much and so perpetually as to destroy the unity which ought to result from the whole poem." But, he goes on to say,—

the great thing in poetry is, *quocunque modo*, to effect a unity of impression upon the whole; and a too great fulness and profusion of point in the parts will prevent this. Who can read with pleasure more than a hundred lines or so of Hudibras at one time? Each couplet or quatrain is so whole in itself, that you can't connect them. There is no fusion,—just as it is in Seneca.⁵⁵

This entire passage, with its phrase "unity of impression" and its mention of "a hundred lines or so," might have been extremely suggestive to Poe, who would have felt a natural disposition to agree with all that it contains. It seems to me highly probable, therefore, that Poe got from Coleridge rather than from Schlegel the phrase "unity of effect" as well as the principle it embodies.

Associated with the idea of unity of effect is the further idea, already touched upon, that a true poem must of necessity be short.⁵⁶ Poe's best poems excellently illustrate this theory, and most of them were doubtless written with it as a conscious guide. Among his critical works the theory is often stated, in *The Poetic Principle* somewhat elaborately.

⁵³*Biographia Literaria*, p. 150.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁵⁵*Table Talk*, p. 238.

⁵⁶Professor Prescott (*op. cit.*, p. xxxiii) thinks "perhaps" Poe got the idea from Coleridge.

I hold that a long poem does not exist. I maintain that the phrase, "a long poem," is simply a flat contradiction in terms.

I need scarcely observe that a poem deserves its title only inasmuch as it excites, by elevating the soul. The value of the poem is in the ratio of this elevating excitement. But all excitements are, through a psychal necessity, transient. That degree of excitement which would entitle a poem to be so called at all, cannot be sustained throughout a composition of any great length. After the lapse of half an hour, at the very utmost, it flags—fails—a revulsion ensues—and then the poem is, in effect, and in fact, no longer such.⁵⁷

Paradise Lost, he maintains, "is to be regarded as poetical, only when, losing sight of that vital requisite of all works of Art, Unity, we view it merely as a series of minor poems. If, to preserve its Unity—its totality of effect or impression—we read it (as would be necessary) at a single sitting, the result is but a constant alternation of excitement and depression."⁵⁸ A poem must not be too long to be read at a single sitting, else it loses "the immensely important effect derivable from unity of impression."⁵⁹ I have already referred to the limitation of one hundred lines. One passage from Coleridge will suffice for purposes of comparison:

In short, whatever specific import we attach to the word poetry, there will be found involved in it, as a necessary consequence, that a poem of any length neither can be, nor ought to be, all poetry. Yet if a harmonious whole is produced, the remaining parts must be preserved in keeping with the poetry; and this can be no otherwise effected than by such a studied selection and artificial arrangement as will partake of one, though not a peculiar, property of poetry. And this again can be no other than the property of exciting a more continuous and equal attention than the language of prose aims at, whether colloquial or written.⁶⁰

Here Coleridge agrees with Poe that a long poem, so called, is really poetry only in parts. Yet, unlike Poe, he sanctions the writing of such long compositions; but to minimize their inconsistency, the language and form of the non-poetical portions should be made to conform as nearly as possible to

⁵⁷*Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 266.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁵⁹*The Philosophy of Composition*, *Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 196.

⁶⁰*Biographia Literaria*, pp. 149–150.

the spirit of the parts that are poetical. In his statement that it is the property of poetry to excite "a more continuous and equal attention than the language of prose aims at," he approximates Poe's meaning in the statement that a poem deserves its title only "inasmuch as it excites, by elevating the soul."

The poet, writing in a mood of exaltation, excites and elevates the soul of the reader by the power of his art; that is, by the creation of beauty. This excitement is spiritual rather than physical. Poetry has "no inevitable, and indeed no necessary co-existence" with the passions of mankind, although it may exalt, or inflame, or purify, or control them."⁶¹ This was Poe's opinion in 1836. Later he came to consider passion antagonistic to the poetic mood. He was influenced in this by Coleridge,⁶² with whom he was, or supposed himself to be, in agreement. First I wish to establish precisely what Poe meant by "passion," and then to show how he may have found authority for his opinion in certain statements of Coleridge's.

Commenting on Tennyson, Poe writes:

Although we agree, for example, with Coleridge, that poetry and *passion* are discordant, yet we are willing to permit Tennyson to bring, to the intense *passion* which prompted his "Locksley Hall," the aid of that terseness and pungency which are derivable from rhythm and from rhyme. The effect he produces, however, is a purely passionate, and not, unless in detached passages of this magnificent philippic, a properly poetic effect. His "Oenone," on the other hand, exalts the soul not into passion, but into a conception of pure *beauty*, which in its elevation—its calm and intense rapture—has in it a foreshadowing of the future and spiritual life, and as far transcends earthly passion as the holy radiance of the sun does the glimmering and feeble phosphorescence of the glow-worm.⁶³

⁶¹Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 283).

⁶²Professor Prescott says (*op. cit.*, notes, p. 345): "Poe regularly attributes to Coleridge the doctrine that 'poetry and passion are discordant,'—apparently without authority. Coleridge, like the other early nineteenth century critics, considered passion 'the all in all in poetry.'"

⁶³Review of R. H. Horne's *Orion*, *Graham's Magazine*, March, 1844 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 255).

We see from these remarks that Poe found poetry and passion discordant, not because passion is a state of emotional excitement, but because it is ugly. As he puts it in *The Poetic Principle*:

In the contemplation of Beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation, or excitement, *of the soul*, which we recognise as the Poetic Sentiment, and which is so easily distinguished from Truth, which is the satisfaction of the Reason, or from Passion, which is the excitement of the heart.⁶⁴

The distinction Poe makes between the excitement of the soul and the excitement of the heart will, I believe, throw much light on this problem. Of the two kinds of love, human and divine, Poe admits one as a proper subject for poetry and excludes the other. In praising one of Moore's poems, he says:

There are two of the lines in which a sentiment is conveyed that embodies the *all in all* of the divine passion of love—a sentiment which, perhaps, has found its echo in more, and in more passionate human hearts than any other single sentiment ever embodied in words.⁶⁵

The poem in question is the melody beginning, "Come, rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer." The choice is significant in that it is a poem of love, and yet has no sexual interest whatever. It is, in fact, sexual desire and not true love that Poe calls passion:

For in regard to Passion, alas! its tendency is to degrade, rather than to elevate the Soul. Love, on the contrary—Love—the true, the divine Eros—the Uranian, as distinguished from the Dionæan Venus—is unquestionably the purest and truest of all poetical themes.⁶⁶

Now observe what to the casual reader might appear to be a contradiction. He is explaining that the mood suited to the presentation of truth is not the poetical mood:

⁶⁴*Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 275.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 290.

We must be perspicuous, precise, terse. We need concentration rather than expansion of mind. We must be calm, unimpassioned, unexcited—in a word, we must be in that peculiar mood which, as nearly as possible, is the exact converse of the poetical.⁶⁷

The poetic mood, then, is one in which the poet is impassioned and excited and has expansion of mind. This "impassioned" mood corresponds to the excitement or elevation of soul which he ordinarily identifies with the poetic mood. Thus there is really no contradiction. Poe made a difference between the softened emotion succeeding an outburst of passion and the outburst itself. He would probably not have quarreled with Wordsworth's stipulation that the poet's emotion must be induced by memory, emotion "recollected in tranquility."⁶⁸ The true poetic mood, as Poe conceived it, grows out of passion frequently, but composition never begins until the passion is tranquilized or transmuted into a spiritual exaltation.

True passion is prosaic—homely. Any strong mental emotion stimulates *all* the mental faculties; thus grief the imagination:—but in proportion as the effect is strengthened, the cause surceases. The excited fancy triumphs—the grief is subdued—chastened,—is no longer grief. In this mood we are poetic, and it is clear that a poem now written will be poetic in the exact ratio of its dispassion. . . . When I say, then, that Mrs. Welby's stanzas are good among the class *passionate* (using the term commonly and falsely applied), I mean that her tone is properly subdued, and is not so much the tone of passion, as of a gentle and melancholy regret. . . .⁶⁹

He refers to the "unpassionate emotion" of Bryant's poems as "the limit of true poetical art," and in the same connection he reiterates his theory that "poetry, in elevating, tranquilizes the *soul*."⁷⁰

⁶⁷Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 70).

⁶⁸Preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800).

⁶⁹Notice of Amelia Welby, *Democratic Review*, December, 1844 (*Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 277–278).

⁷⁰Notice of William Cullen Bryant, *Godey's Lady's Book*, April, 1846 (*Works*, Vol. XIII, p. 131).

Coleridge does not exclude passion from poetry; yet there is much in his criticism which might have gone to the making of Poe's theory. Beautiful images, says Coleridge, "become proofs of original genius only as far as they are modified by a predominant passion; or by associated thoughts or images awakened by that passion" ⁷¹ But he is like Poe in denying to passion the creative function: "For the property of passion is not to create, but to set in increased activity." ⁷² There must be "an interpenetration of passion and of will, of spontaneous impulse and of voluntary purpose." ⁷³ In fact he traces the origin of meter "to the balance in the mind effected by that spontaneous effort which strives to hold in check the workings of passion." ⁷⁴ Thus a "more than usual state of emotion" is made to harmonize with "more than usual order." ⁷⁵ This is what Poe means when he says that poetry may exalt, purify, or control passion so that it is no longer passion, but a mood of spiritual exaltation, a mood in which the soul is excited yet at the same time somehow tranquilized. Coleridge sometimes calls this state spiritual fervor. In discussing Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and the *Lucrece*, he says that the poet "himself unparticipating in the passions" of his characters, is "actuated only by that pleasurable excitement which had resulted from the energetic fervour of his own spirit." ⁷⁶ Again Coleridge qualifies, somewhat as does Poe, the ordinary meaning of passion: "Now poetry, Mr. Wordsworth truly affirms, does always imply passion: which word must be here understood, in its most general sense, as an excited state of the feelings and faculties." ⁷⁷ In *Satyrane's Letters* (No. 3) Coleridge gives a transcript of Wordsworth's notes on his conversations with Klopstock, in which

⁷¹*Biographia Literaria*, p. 153.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 181.

we find Wordsworth objecting to passion in Wieland's *Oberon*, saying

it was unworthy of a man of genius to make the interest of a long poem turn entirely upon animal gratification. He seemed at first disposed to excuse this by saying, that there are different subjects for poetry, and that poets are not willing to be restricted in their choice. I answered, that I thought the *passion* of love as well suited to the purposes of poetry as any other passion; but that it was a cheap way of pleasing to fix the attention of the reader through a long poem on the mere *appetite*.⁷⁸

Wordsworth's distinction here between true passion and base appetite is somewhat suggestive of Poe's distinction between human and divine love. Compare with Poe's remarks on poetry and passion the following comment by Coleridge:

I think nothing can be added to Milton's definition or rule of poetry,—that it ought to be simple, sensuous, and impassioned; that is to say, single in conception, abounding in sensible images, and informing them all with the spirit of the mind.⁷⁹

It is significant that Coleridge represents Milton as having used the word "impassioned," whereas in fact the word he used was "passionate." He probably avoided the word "passionate," though not consciously, as being too suggestive of those violent emotions which are not suited to poetry. His phrase "spirit of the mind" means here something not very different from what Poe means by the phrase "excitement or elevation of the soul." Thus we not only find a close correspondence between the theories of Poe and Coleridge, but we are further enabled by the comparison to understand more clearly the distinction which Poe undoubtedly made between the "impassioned mood," which is essential to poetical creation, and the "passions," with which poetry has nothing whatever to do.

The other and final idea characteristic of Poe's theory of poetry—that the tone of a poem should be sadness or melancholy—I may dismiss with a word, because there is no

⁷⁸Published with *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 271–272.

⁷⁹*Table Talk*, p. 38.

reason, so far as I know, to suppose that in it he was influenced by Coleridge. The idea was one, however, common enough among the romantic poets of the day in all countries. If I omit it, I do so not because it is unimportant in Poe's criticism, but merely because it is not pertinent to my immediate purpose.

IV

It seems desirable to consider in a separate section certain ideas and principles which belong to the body of Poe's criticism, but less particularly to his theory of poetry than those already considered. Here his views will be found to diverge more widely from those of Coleridge, and yet there is no sufficient reason to suppose on this account that Poe was not influenced by the opinion of Coleridge. These ideas relate to the function of the critic, the supposed irritability of men of genius, the nature of imagination, and the extent to which poetry may deal with truth.

First, as to the function of the critic. Poe believed that critics were too much inclined to generalize and to praise, whereas they ought to establish certain principles and then apply those principles particularly to the work under survey. Thus he writes:

It appears to us, indeed, that in excessive *generalization* lies one of the leading errors of a criticism employed upon a poetical literature so immature as our own. We rhapsodize rather than discriminate; delighting more in the dictation or discussion of principle, than in its particular and methodical application.⁸⁰

At the very beginning of his career as a reviewer he determined not to deal in generalities and not to advance unsupported assertions.⁸¹ He severely condemned the critics who sneer at greatness and make unsupported censures as "a set of *homunculi*, eager to grow notorious by the perti-

⁸⁰Review of the poetry of Rufus Dawes, *Graham's Magazine*, October, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 133).

⁸¹Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 280).

nacity of their yelpings at the heels of the distinguished."⁸² He was not averse to censure where censure was due. "When," he says, "we attend less to 'authority' and more to principles, when we look *less* at merit and *more* at demerit, (instead of the converse, as some persons suggest,) we shall then be better critics than we are."⁸³ Excellence he considered an axiom, capable of self-manifestation, and so requiring no elucidation; consequently,

it but remains for the critic to show when, where, and how it fails in becoming manifest; and, in this showing, it will be the fault of the book itself if what of beauty it contains be not, at least, placed in the fairest light. In a word, we may assume . . . that in pointing out frankly the errors of a work, we do nearly all that is critically necessary in displaying its merits.⁸⁴

The critic should avoid bias or prejudice; for "the province of a critic is not that of the state advocate, who argues only on one side, but rather that of the judge who sums up the case, and of the jury who are sworn 'a true verdict to give according to the evidence.'"⁸⁵

Coleridge differed with Poe in that he believed the critic should dwell on the beauties rather than the defects of the work criticized. Yet he would not omit the defects, for when characteristic they become the basis for judging the merits of the author. He also agreed with Poe in demanding that the critic adhere to fixed principles of criticism in dealing with particular beauties and defects. These opinions are announced in the two following passages:

I know of nothing that surpasses the vileness of deciding on the merits of a poet or painter—not by characteristic defects, for where there is genius, these always point to his characteristic beauties—but by accidental failures or faulty passages. . . .

⁸²A *Chapter of Suggestions*, *Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

⁸³*Marginalia*, *Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 81.

⁸⁴Review of Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, *Graham's Magazine*, February, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 41).

⁸⁵Review of Bulwer's *Zanoni*, *Graham's Magazine*, May, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 123).

He who tells me that there are defects in a new work, tells me nothing which I should not have taken for granted without his information. But he who points out and elucidates the *beauties* of the original work, does indeed give me interesting information, such as experience would not have authorized me in anticipating.⁸⁶

But I should call that investigation fair and philosophical, in which the critic announces and endeavors to establish the principles, which he holds for the foundation of poetry in general, with the specification of these in their application to the different *classes* of poetry. Having thus prepared his canons of criticism for praise and condemnation, we would proceed to particularize the most striking passages to which he deems them applicable, faithfully noticing the frequent or infrequent recurrence of similar merits or defects, and as faithfully distinguishing what is characteristic from what is accidental or a mere flagging of the wing.⁸⁷

He does not object to censure if it is directed at the work and not at the author.

Every censure, every sarcasm respecting a publication which the critic, with the criticized work before him, can make good, is the critic's right. The writer is authorized to reply, but not to complain.⁸⁸

But if the critic brings in knowledge of the author gained elsewhere, his censure becomes personal injury and is without license.⁸⁹ Coleridge believes a review would succeed which should be started "upon a published code of principles, critical, moral, political, and religious"; which should be devoted exclusively to literature; "and which should really give a fair account of what the author *intended* to do, and in his own words, if possible, and in addition, afford one or two fair specimens of the execution"⁹⁰

It appears that Poe differed from Coleridge in only one important point regarding the function of the critic; namely, his opinion that if the critic points out the defects of a work, its beauties will appear of themselves, which is

⁸⁶*Biographia Literaria*, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁹⁰*Table Talk*, p. 95.

just the opposite of Coleridge's opinion that we may take the defects for granted, but need to be apprised of the beauties. In the first passage quoted from Coleridge, however, the statement that characteristic defects always point to characteristic beauties virtually corroborates Poe's opinion. Their difference, such as it is, may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Poe spoke as editor as well as critic, and as one who felt himself responsible for protecting a relatively uncultured public from imposition by weak but presumptuous writers.

Both Poe and Coleridge have a good deal to say about the irritability, real or supposed, of men of genius, particularly poets. Thus Poe:

That poets (using the word comprehensively, as including artists in general) are a *genus irritabile*, is well understood; but the *why*, seems not to be commonly seen. An artist is an artist only by dint of his exquisite sense of Beauty—a sense affording him rapturous enjoyment, but at the same time implying, or involving, an equally exquisite sense of deformity or disproportion. Thus a wrong—an injustice—done a poet, excites him to a degree which, to ordinary apprehension, appears disproportionate with the wrong. Poets *see* injustice—*never* where it does not exist—but very often where the unpoetical see no injustice whatever. Thus the poetical irritability has no reference to “temper” in the vulgar sense, but merely to a more than usual clear-sightedness in respect to Wrong:—this clear-sightedness being nothing more than a corollary from the vivid perception of Right—of justice—of proportion—in a word, of *το καλον*. But one thing is clear—that the man who is not “irritable,” (to the ordinary apprehension,) is *no poet*.⁹¹

Poets, then, are irritable because of their extraordinary sensitiveness to deformity and injustice. The reason for this hypersensitiveness, Poe goes on to explain, lies in the inordinate power of their mental faculties existing in absolute proportion. The abnormal predominance of one faculty over all others is not an evidence of genius, but “a result of mental disease or rather, of organic malformation of mind.” He continues thus:

⁹¹*Fifty Suggestions, Works*, Vol. XIV, pp. 175–176.

Not only will such "genius" fail, if turned aside from the path indicated by its predominant faculty; but, even when pursuing this path—when producing those works in which, certainly, it is *best* calculated to succeed—will give unmistakable indications of *unsoundness*, in respect to general intellect. Hence, indeed, arises the just idea that "great wit to madness nearly is allied."

I say "just idea"; for by "great wit," in this case, the poet intends precisely the pseudo-genius to which I refer. The true genius, on the other hand, is necessarily, if not universal in its manifestations, at least capable of universality.⁹²

Further he says that the

absolute proportion spoken of, when applied to inordinate mental power, gives, as a result, the appreciation of Beauty and a horror of Deformity which we call sensibility, together with that intense vitality, which is implied when we speak of "Energy" or "Passion."⁹³

Coleridge, who wrote an entire chapter on the subject, attempts to prove the injustice of the tendency of the public to "apply to all poets the old sarcasm of Horace upon the scribblers of his time: '*Genus irritabile vatum.*'"⁹⁴ The supposed men of genius whose actions provoke the just charge of irritability, he thinks, are really men of inferior talent disappointed in their ambition to acquire the reputation of genius. These are not men of sensibility, however; for—and in this he agrees with Poe—"sensibility, indeed, both quick and deep, is not only a characteristic feature, but may be deemed a component part, of genius."⁹⁵ But Coleridge differs from Poe in that he does not believe this quick sensibility makes men of genius more than others resentful of personal injustice; for "men of the greatest genius, as far as we can judge from their own works or from the accounts of their contemporaries, appear to have been of calm and tranquil temper, in all that related to themselves."⁹⁶ He remarks on Chaucer's cheerfulness and

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 176–177.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹⁴*Biographia Literaria*, p. 14.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 15.

on Shakespeare's "evenness and sweetness of temper."⁹⁷ Nowhere in Spenser does he find "the least trace of irritability," and "the same calmness, and even greater self-possession, may be affirmed of Milton, as far as his poems and poetic character are concerned."⁹⁸ He considers it a characteristic of the sensibility of genius that it "is excited by any other cause more powerfully than by its own personal interests," the reason being that the man of genius lives most in the ideal world.⁹⁹ "And yet, should he perchance have occasion to repel some false charge, or to rectify some erroneous censure, nothing is more common than for the many to mistake the general liveliness of his manner and language, whatever is the subject, for the effects of peculiar irritation from its accidental relation to himself."¹⁰⁰ To this passage he appends the following interesting footnote:

This is one instance, among many, of deception by the telling the half of a fact, and omitting the other half, when it is from their mutual counteraction and neutralization that the whole truth arises, as a *tertium aliquid* different from either. Thus in Dryden's famous line "Great wit" (which here means genius) "to madness sure is near allied." Now as far as the profound sensibility, which is doubtless one of the components of genius, were alone considered, single and unbalanced, it might be fairly described as exposing the individual to a greater chance of mental derangement; but then a more than usual rapidity of association, a more than usual power of passing from thought to thought, and image to image, is a component equally essential; and in the due modification of each by the other the genius itself consists . . .

It looks as if Poe had read Coleridge's chapter on the supposed irritability of genius, and had accepted it all except that part which states that men of great genius are never irritable. He then sought to find a justifiable basis for the poet's irritability, and he found it in the characteristic of sensibility. The only important difference between the

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 22.

two critics, therefore, is that whereas Coleridge considered sensibility a component part of genius, Poe held it to be synonymous with genius itself. They agree in the theory that the faculties of true genius are balanced, or proportionate, but are not wholly at one as to what these faculties are. They also agree in the corollary, that the inordinate development of a single faculty is mental disease or derangement, not genius.

Professor Prescott points out that Poe derived from Coleridge the distinction between fancy and imagination, and "attempted to analyze and clarify it."¹⁰¹ I agree with the first part of this opinion, but not altogether with the last part, which implies that Poe approved Coleridge's distinction. As a matter of fact, he opposed it, sought to refute it, and set up various theories in its place. In the end, however, he agreed substantially with Coleridge in all except a few terms.

In an early definition of "poesy," Poe includes this sentence, making it a separate paragraph for emphasis: "Imagination is its soul."¹⁰² As a footnote to this statement, he adds:

Imagination is, possibly in man, a lesser degree of the creative power in God. What the Deity imagines *is*, but *was not* before. What man imagines, *is*, but *was* also. The mind of man cannot imagine what *is not*.

He defines "the Poetic Sentiment" as "Ideality, Imagination, or the creative ability."¹⁰³ The first open disagreement with Coleridge occurs four years afterwards in a lengthy discussion of the poems of Moore, of which the following passage must be quoted at length:

"The fancy," says the author of the "Ancient Mariner," in his *Biographia Literaria*, "the fancy combines, the imagination creates." And this was intended, and has been received, as a distinction. If so at all, it is one without a difference; without even a difference

¹⁰¹*Op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

¹⁰²Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 283).

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 295.

of *degree*. The fancy as nearly creates as the imagination; and neither creates in any respect. All novel conceptions are merely unusual combinations. The mind of man can imagine nothing which has not really existed. . . . It will be said, perhaps, that we can imagine a *griffin*, and that a griffin does not exist. Not the griffin certainly, but its component parts. It is a mere compendium of known limbs and features—of known qualities. Thus with all which seems to be *new*—which appears to be a *creation* of intellect. It is resolvable into the old. The wildest and most vigorous effort of mind cannot stand the test of this analysis.¹⁰⁴

He then attempts a distinction of his own, according to which an imaginative work, unlike a work of the fancy, is one in which “the main conception springs immediately, *or thus apparently springs*, from the brain of the poet, enveloped in the moral sentiments of grace, of colour, of motion—of the beautiful, of the mystical, of the august—in short, of the ideal.” He continues by way of conclusion:

The truth is that the just distinction between the fancy and the imagination (and which is still but a distinction of *degree*) is involved in the consideration of the *mystic*. We give this as an idea of our own, altogether. We have no authority for our opinion—but do not the less firmly hold it. The term *mystic* is here employed in the sense of Augustus William Schlegel, and of most other German critics. It is applied by them to that class of composition in which there lies beneath the transparent upper current of meaning an under or *suggestive* one. What we vaguely term the *moral* of any sentiment is its mystic or secondary expression.¹⁰⁵

This new opinion in which the “mystic” was made to explain the imagination was apparently soon abandoned, for he does not insist on it afterwards, but continues to use Coleridge's terms. He calls the characters of Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop* true *creations*, not caricatures; they belong “to the most august regions of the *Ideal*.” And then he adds: “In truth, the great feature of the ‘Curiosity Shop’ is its chaste, vigorous, and glorious *imagination*.”¹⁰⁶ In another

¹⁰⁴Review of Moore's *Alciphron: A Poem*, Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1840 (*Works*, Vol. X, pp. 61–62).

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁶Review of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, Graham's *Magazine*, May, 1841 (*Works*, Vol. X, p. 153).

place he says that "in respect to compositions which have been really received as poems, the *imaginative*, or, more popularly, the creative portions *alone* have ensured them to be so received."¹⁰⁷ In the same connection, after explaining that the first element of poesy is the thirst for supernal beauty, he says:

Its second element is the attempt to satisfy this thirst by *novel combinations, of those combinations which our predecessors, toiling in chase of the same phantom, have already set in order*. We thus clearly deduce the *novelty*, the *originality*, the *invention*, the *imagination*, or lastly the *creation* of Beauty, (for the terms as here employed are synonymous) as the essence of all poesy. . . .

"Invention," however, or "imagination," is by far more commonly insisted upon. The word *ποίησις* itself (creation) speaks volumes upon the point.¹⁰⁸

Poe's next attempt to formulate a distinction between fancy and imagination appears in a long comparison and analysis of imagination, fancy, fantasy, and humor, which, he says, "have in common the elements Combination and Novelty." He continues thus:

The imagination is the artist of the four. From novel arrangements of old forms which present themselves to it, it selects only such as are harmonious;—the result, of course, is *beauty* itself—using the term in its most extended sense, as inclusive of the sublime. The pure Imagination chooses, *from either beauty or deformity*, only the most combinable things hitherto uncombined. . . . But, as often analogously happens in physical chemistry, so not unfrequently does it occur in this chemistry of the intellect, that the admixture of two elements will result in a something that shall have nothing of the quality of one of them—or even nothing of the qualities of either. The range of Imagination is therefore, unlimited. Its materials extend throughout the Universe. Even out of deformities it fabricates that Beauty which is at once its sole object and its inevitable test. . . . It is this thorough harmony of an imaginative work which so often causes it to be undervalued by the indiscriminating, through the character of *obviousness* which is superinduced. We are apt to find

¹⁰⁷Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 72).

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 73–74.

ourselves asking "*why is it that these combinations have never been imagined before?*"¹⁰⁹

Repeating in the *Marginalia* much that he had said in the review quoted from above, he adds that the things combined "are themselves still to be considered as atomic—that is to say, as previous combinations." The "absolute 'chemical combination'" is especially "to be regarded in our estimate of Imagination. It is this thorough harmony, etc."¹¹⁰

For the sake of a fair comparison it will be necessary to quote several passages from the writings of Coleridge. In an article first published with Southey's *Omniana* (1812) he names among the human faculties "the imagination, or shaping and modifying power; the fancy, or the aggregative and associative power."¹¹¹ The statement of Coleridge's theory which Poe alluded to is probably the following:

The imagination then I consider either as primary, or secondary. The primary imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I Am. The secondary I consider as an echo of the former, co-existing with the conscious will, yet still as identical with the primary in the kind of its agency, and differing only in degree, and in the mode of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still, at all events, it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially *vital*, even as all objects (as objects) are essentially fixed and dead.

Fancy, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The Fancy is indeed no other than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space; and blended with, and modified by that empirical phenomenon of the will, which we express by the word choice. But equally with the

¹⁰⁹Review of Willis's *American Prose Writers*, *Broadway Journal*, January 18, 1845 (*Works*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-39).

¹¹⁰In Stoddard's edition of Poe's *Works*, Vol. V, p. 205. I have not found this item in the *Marginalia* of Harrison's edition.

¹¹¹*Omniana* (bound with *Table Talk*), p. 383. The passage is repeated in *Biographia Literaria*, p. 138.

ordinary memory, it must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association.¹¹²

The distinction here made between the primary and the secondary imagination occurs nowhere else in Coleridge's writings; it may therefore be concluded, I think, that it was not very important. Most of his other definitions conform to the definition here made of the secondary imagination. He further describes the imagination as a "synthetic" power.

This power, first put in action by the will and understanding, and retained under their irremissive, though gentle and unnoticed, control (*laxis effertur habenis*) reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness, with difference; of the general, with the concrete; the idea, with the image; the individual, with the representative; the sense of novelty and freshness, with old and familiar objects; a more than usual state of emotion, with more than usual order; judgment ever awake and steady self-possession, with enthusiasm and feeling profound or vehement; and while it blends and harmonizes the natural and the artificial, still subordinates art to nature; the manner to the matter; and our admiration of the poet to our sympathy with the poetry.¹¹³

Summing up this part of his discussion, he says:

Finally, good sense is the body of poetic genius, fancy its drapery, motion its life, and imagination the soul that is every where, and in each; and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole.¹¹⁴

Elsewhere he calls imagination "that reconciling and mediatory power, which incorporating the reason in images of the sense . . . gives birth to a system of symbols, harmonious in themselves, and consubstantial with the truths of which they are the conductors."¹¹⁵ To understand this definition we must know that his distinction between reason and understanding is somewhat like that between imagination and fancy. The understanding he calls "the science

¹¹²*Biographia Literaria*, p. 144.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹¹⁵*The Statesman's Manual: A Lay Sermon*; published with the *Biographia Literaria*, p. 321.

of phenomena"; the reason, "the science of the universal, having the ideas of oneness and allness as its two elements or primary factors."¹¹⁶ Finally he says:

The Fancy brings together images which have no connection natural or moral, but are yoked together by the poet by means of some accidental coincidence. . . . The Imagination modifies images, and gives unity to variety; it sees all things in one, *il piu nell' uno*.¹¹⁷

A casual examination of these passages reveals that Poe and Coleridge are agreed on the following points at least:

1. Imagination is the soul of poetry.
2. It harmonizes diverse matters and gives unity to variety.
3. It is analogous to the creative power of God.
4. Of two elements known and unlike it can create a third element different from either.

They differ, or seem to differ, in one point only: the meaning of the word "create." Coleridge says the imagination dissolves and diffuses in order to recreate; it creates, therefore, in the sense of bringing order out of chaos. Poe says creation by the imagination is merely the combination of whole parts of known objects in a new way. But in reality Poe means by combination exactly what Coleridge means by creation. For if one asks how small these combinable parts may be, the reply is obviously that they may be as small in their world, the ideal, as the atom in the physical world. He actually mentions physical chemistry as an aid to the understanding of imaginative creation, which he calls the "chemistry of the intellect." In the light of this analogy his example of the griffin as an object created imaginatively is absurd. As a matter of fact, I feel confident that he agreed with Coleridge in every respect; but, impelled by the desire to be original, and painfully conscious of his obligation to Coleridge, he sought to avoid the obligation by opposing him. To this end he first conceived the theory that the idea of the mystic is involved in that of the imagination, but gave that up. It was only then that he

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, Appendix C, p. 339.

¹¹⁷*Table Talk*, p. 291.

began to quibble over the words "creation" and "combination." He often used the word "create" in Coleridge's sense, and undoubtedly applied Coleridge's theory, not his own, in all his best poems.

Poe was vigorously and consistently opposed to didacticism in poetry. His love of sweeping generalization and of striking metaphor sometimes betrayed him, however, into saying more than he really intended, as it did, for example, in the famous phrase about "the obstinate oils and waters of Poetry and Truth," often repeated. His ambiguity consists in his using the word "truth" in a special sense, yet permitting the reader to suppose it used in a general sense. In the "Letter to B——" he opposes "the heresy of what is called very foolishly, the Lake School," but thinks it would be a work of supererogation to refute their doctrine. This doctrine is doubtless the same that afterwards in *The Poetic Principle* he attacks as "the heresy of *The Didactic*," which he identifies with the doctrine that "the ultimate object of all Poetry is Truth."¹¹⁸ He makes no clear distinction between philosophical poetry, such as that of Wordsworth, and poetry that is frankly didactic. Hence in the same essay he adopts Coleridge's definition of the *immediate* object of poetry as pleasure, but condemns him (as a member of the Lake School) as a philosophical poet. Sooner or later he must have understood the significance of the word "immediate" in Coleridge's sentence, as apparently he did not in 1831, for Coleridge, and Wordsworth too, for that matter, found no difficulty in making truth an ultimate object in poetry while admitting that the immediate aim is pleasure. One of the evidences of poetic genius mentioned in the *Biographia Literaria* is "depth and energy of thought." "No man," Coleridge says, "was ever yet a great poet, without being at the same time a profound philosopher. For poetry is the blossom and the fragrancy of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, language."¹¹⁹ But the poet's way of presenting

¹¹⁸*Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

¹¹⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 155.

truth is not the way of the scientist or mathematician. Comparing poetry with geometry in its relation to truth, he says, "The chief differences are, that in geometry it is the universal truth itself which is uppermost in the consciousness, in poetry the individual form in which the Truth is clothed."¹²⁰ In other words, poetry conveys truth by clothing it in forms or images, not by abstract precepts and principles.

Poe's view, rightly understood, is essentially the same. On the very page with the phrase referred to above about "the obstinate oils and waters of Poetry and Truth," we find the following:

Just as conscience, or the moral sense, recognizes duty; just as the intellect deals with truth; so is it the part of taste alone to inform us of BEAUTY. And Poesy is the handmaiden but of Taste. Yet we would not be misunderstood. This handmaiden is not forbidden to moralize—in her own fashion. She is not forbidden to depict—but to reason and preach, of virtue. As, of this latter, conscience recognizes the obligation, so intellect teaches the expediency, while taste contents herself with displaying the beauty: waging war with vice merely on the ground of its inconsistency with fitness, harmony, proportion—in a word with *το καλον*.¹²¹

Thus poetry becomes didactic, and so objectionable, only when it seeks to convey truth by preaching or reasoning. Not only may poetry depict truth; it may also insinuate or suggest truth. Poe objects to Hawthorne's story *The Minister's Black Veil* because "the *obvious* meaning of this article will be found to smother its insinuated one."¹²² In the following passage he distinguishes between pure didacticism and poetic suggestion:

The defects observable in the "Legend of Brittany" are, chiefly, consequent upon the error of *didacticism*. After every few words of narration, comes a page of morality. Not that the morality, *here*—not that the reflections deduced from the incidents, are peculiarly

¹²⁰*Satyrane's Letters*, No. 2; *Biographia Literaria*, p. 258.

¹²¹Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XII, p. 70).

¹²²Review of *Twice-Told Tales*, *Graham's Magazine*, May, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 111).

exceptionable, but that they are too obviously, intrusively, and artificially introduced. The story might have been rendered more *unique*, and altogether more in consonance with the true poetic sentiment, by suffering the morality to be *suggested*; as it is, for example, in the "Old Curiosity Shop," of Dickens—or in that superb *poem*, the "Undine" of De la Motte Foqué.¹²³

Other references to *Undine* will further explain Poe's meaning. "How thoroughly—how radically—how wonderfully," he exclaims, "has 'Undine' been misunderstood! Beneath its obvious meaning there runs an under-current, simple, quite intelligible, artistically managed, and richly philosophical."¹²⁴ Again he writes:

Of allegory properly handled, judiciously subdued, seen only as a shadow or by suggestive glimpses, and making its nearest approach to truth in a not obtrusive and therefore not unpleasant *appositeness*, the "Undine" of De La Motte Fouqué is the best, and undoubtedly a very remarkable specimen.¹²⁵

Poe would agree with Coleridge that depth and energy of thought are an aid to the poet, and if not antagonized he would admit, too, I believe, that truth in the higher, ideal sense of the word, is of concern to the poet. But he would perhaps limit more strictly than Coleridge the means to be used in conveying truth in poetry. Both would exclude any method which would jeopardize the immediate aim of poetry, which is to give pleasure.

¹²³Review of Lowell's *Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, March, 1844 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 247).

¹²⁴*Marginalia* (*Democratic Review*, December, 1844), *Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 48.

¹²⁵Notice of Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Godey's Lady's Book*, November, 1847 (*Works*, Vol. XIII, pp. 148–149).

In a review of *Undine: A Miniature Romance*, in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1839, he calls it "the finest romance in existence"; he also says, "What can be more divine than the character of the soulless Undine?" (*Works*, Vol. X, pp. 37–39. See also *Marginalia*, Vol. XVI, p. 51, for a repetition of this question.) Poe may have been influenced here by Coleridge's opinion. "Undine," says Coleridge, "is a most exquisite work. . . . Undine's character, before she receives a soul, is marvellously beautiful." (*Table Talk*, p. 88.)

V

I ought not to bring this discussion to an end without taking some notice of Poe's speculative thought and its relation to that of Coleridge. They were alike in the variety of their interests, which included astromony, electricity, mesmerism, phrenology, and other subjects from the field of science and pseudo-science. I cannot say how much Poe's interest in such subjects was influenced especially by that of Coleridge, because they were commented on everywhere in the public prints of the time. Poe was more enthusiastic and sought optimistically to find practical uses for these new aids to knowledge, whereas Coleridge's interest was merely that of the philosopher. "Phrenology," Poe asserts, "is no longer to be laughed at . . . It has assumed the majesty of a science; and, as a science, ranks among the most important which can engage the attention of thinking beings."¹²⁶ He thinks it unaccountable that "a scholar and editor (who should be, if he be not, a man of metaphysical science)" should attempt to ridicule phrenology.¹²⁷ "Not the least service," he says, "which hereafter, mankind will owe to *Phrenology*, may, perhaps, be recognized in an analysis of the real principles, and a digest of the resulting laws of taste."¹²⁸ He defines the "sentiment of the beautiful" as "that sense which phrenology has attempted to embody in its organ of ideality."¹²⁹ Coleridge's head, according to Poe, "gave no great phrenological tokens of Ideality, while the organs of Causality and Comparison

¹²⁶Review of *Phrenology, and the Moral Influence of Phrenology*, by Mrs. L. Miles. *Southern Literary Messenger*, March, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 252).

¹²⁷Review of *Didactics—Social, Literary, and Political*, by Robert Walsh. *Southern Literary Messenger*, May, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 329).

¹²⁸Review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 65).

¹²⁹Review of Horne's *Orion*, *Graham's Magazine*, March, 1844 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 256).

were singularly developed.”¹³⁰ Perhaps Poe was influenced by the opinion of the phrenologist Spurzheim, who, as Coleridge’s nephew records, “denied any *Ideality*, and awarded an unusual share of *Locality*, to the majestic silver-haired head of my dear uncle and father-in-law.”¹³¹

Coleridge was interested in phrenology, but was never deceived into accepting it as a true science. He says:

Craniology is worth some consideration, although it is merely in its rudiments and guesses yet. But all the coincidences which have been observed could scarcely be by accident. The confusion and absurdity, however, will be endless until some names or proper terms are discovered for the organs, which are not taken from their mental application or significance. The forepart of the head is generally given up to the higher intellectual powers; the hinder part to the sensual emotions.¹³²

Again he says:

Spurzheim is a good man, and I like him; but he is dense, and the most ignorant German I ever knew. If he had been content with stating certain remarkable coincidences between the moral qualities and the configuration of the skull, it would have been well; but when he began to map out the cranium dogmatically, he fell into infinite absurdities.¹³³

Yet he speaks of certain phrenological peculiarities of an acquaintance as having inclined him “to suspect, for the first time, that there may be some truth in the Spurzheimian scheme.”¹³⁴

Poe was fond of speculating upon the “power of words,” and the effect of death on the mind of man. In some of his speculative tales he develops the idea that, since “no thought can perish,” since “all motion, of whatever nature, creates,” and since “the source of all motion is thought”—therefore thought is the great creative power, whether in God or man. Agathos points to a star which by the power of

¹³⁰Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 285).

¹³¹*Table Talk*, p. 50 (note).

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹³³*Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 105 (note).

passionate words he had created.¹³⁵ When death releases the mind from the limitations of earth he imagined that it would approach in knowledge the perfection of God, and be able to perceive "the speculative Future merged in the august and certain Present."¹³⁶ Poe might have been influenced by an incident recorded in the *Biographia Literaria*. After relating the history of an illiterate young German woman who in a nervous fever had repeated numerous Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sentences which years before she had casually overheard as they were read by a Protestant minister in whose home she was working, Coleridge remarks that it is probable

that all thoughts are in themselves imperishable; and, that if the intelligent faculty should be rendered more comprehensive, it would require only a different and apportioned organization, *the body celestial* instead of *the body terrestrial*, to bring before every human soul the collective experience of its whole past existence.¹³⁷

The characters in the two stories of Poe's just referred to were spiritual beings released from their terrestrial bodies and moving through starry space as celestial bodies, in accordance with Coleridge's hypothesis.

Although Poe was not a philosopher, and sometimes spoke with contempt of metaphysics, particularly that aspect of metaphysics known in New England as Transcendentalism, yet he has written passages here and there which have a decided transcendental flavor. His early opposition to Wordsworth because of the metaphysical nature of his poetry is not representative of his mature opinion. Five years afterwards he wrote the following passage:

We do not hesitate to say that a man highly endowed with the powers of Causality—that is to say, a man of metaphysical acumen—will, even with a very deficient share of Ideality, compose a finer poem (if we test it, as we should, by its measure of exciting the Poetic Sentiment) than one who, without such metaphysical acumen,

¹³⁵*The Power of Words* (1844), *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

¹³⁶*The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion* (1839), *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

¹³⁷*Op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

shall be gifted, in the most extraordinary degree, with the faculty of Ideality.¹³⁸

He mentions Coleridge as such a man. He denies that "the calculating faculties are at war with the ideal."¹³⁹ Contrasting the metaphysics of Donne and Cowley with the metaphysics of Wordsworth and Coleridge, he says:

With the two former ethics were the end—with the two latter the means. The poet of the "Creation" wished by highly artificial verse, to inculcate what he supposed to be moral truth—the poet of the "Ancient Mariner" to infuse the Poetic Sentiment through channels suggested by analysis.¹⁴⁰

Poe uses the word "metaphysics" here, as often elsewhere, to mean an analytical and logical process—the process by which he composed *The Raven*. But there was in him, also, something of the transcendentalism which he so disliked in the New England philosophy. He was led into it, perhaps unaware, by the exalted conception of the imaginative power that he had derived from Coleridge. Thus he writes:

That the imagination has not been unjustly ranked as supreme among the mental faculties, appears from the intense consciousness, on the part of the imaginative man, that the faculty in question brings his soul often to a glimpse of things supernal and eternal—to the very verge of the *great secrets*. There are moments, indeed, in which he perceives the faint perfumes, and hears the melodies of a happier world. Some of the most profound knowledge—perhaps all *very* profound knowledge—has originated from a highly stimulated imagination. Great intellects *guess* well. The laws of Kepler were, professedly, *guesses*.¹⁴¹

I understand Poe to mean simply that the poet makes use of two complementary faculties: the intuitional or imaginative faculty, through which he is made aware of the

¹³⁸Review of the poems of Drake and Halleck, *Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1836 (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 284).

¹³⁹*Mr. Griswold and the Poets*, *Boston Miscellany*, November, 1842 (*Works*, Vol. XI, p. 148).

¹⁴⁰Review of *The Book of Gems*, *Broadway Journal*, May 17, 1845 (*Works*, Vol. XII, p. 140).

¹⁴¹*A Chapter of Suggestions (The Opal, 1845)*, published among the *Essays and Miscellanies* (*Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 187).

beauty latent in nature because it harmonizes with the beauty inherent in his own soul; and the logical or metaphysical faculty, by means of which he is enabled to render objective the beauty which he feels, and so to awake in others a sentiment akin to his own. Conversely, when "through the attainment of a truth, we are led to perceive a harmony where none was apparent before, we experience, at once, the true poetical effect" ¹⁴² Thus he arrives ultimately to the full acceptance of truth as a proper and even a necessary correlative of poetry. His final word on the subject appears in *Eureka*:

And, in fact, the sense of the symmetrical is an instinct which may be depended upon with an almost blindfold reliance. It is the poetical essence of the Universe—of the Universe which, in the supremeness of its symmetry, is but the most sublime of poems. Now symmetry and consistency are convertible terms:—thus Poetry and Truth are one. A thing is consistent in the ratio of its truth—true in the ratio of its consistency. *A perfect consistency, I repeat, can be nothing but an absolute truth.* We may take for granted, then, that man cannot long or widely err, if he suffer himself to be guided by his poetical, which I have maintained to be his truthful, in being his symmetrical, instinct. ¹⁴³

This intuitional or imaginative faculty is not peculiar to poets, but is the evidence of great intellect of whatever kind. This is what Poe meant by saying "great intellects guess well." The combination of the imaginative and logical faculties functioning in different minds is illustrated in the discoveries of Kepler and Newton. The laws of planetary movement, he says, were "*guessed* by the imaginative Kepler, and but subsequently demonstrated and accounted for by the patient and mathematical Newton." ¹⁴⁴

Coleridge connected the imagination with the reasoning faculty. He defines imagination as

that reconciling and mediatory power, which incorporating the reason in images of the sense, and organizing (as it were) the flux of the senses by the permanence and self-circling energies of the reason,

¹⁴²*The Poetic Principle*, Works, Vol. XIV, p. 290.

¹⁴³Works, Vol. XVI, p. 302.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 279.

gives birth to a system of symbols, harmonious in themselves, and consubstantial with the truths of which they are the conductors.¹⁴⁵

Coleridge's estimate of the relative functions of Kepler and Newton in the discovery of gravitation and related laws is so nearly identical with Poe's that I suspect Poe of having been intimately acquainted with it. Coleridge says in one place:

Galileo was a great genius, and so was Newton; but it would take two or three Galileos and Newtons to make one Kepler. It is in the order of Providence, that the inventive, generative, constitutive mind—the Kepler—should come first; and then that the patient and collective mind—the Newton—should follow, and elaborate the pregnant queries and illumining guesses of the former. The laws of the planetary system are, in fact, due to Kepler. There is not a more glorious achievement of scientific genius upon record, than Kepler's guesses, prophecies, and ultimate apprehension of the law of the mean distances of the planets as connected with the periods of their revolutions round the sun.¹⁴⁶

From what has been already said it is evident that both Poe and Coleridge were attached to the transcendental doctrine that intuition is a means to truth, associating it with imagination. In a facetious letter at the beginning of *Eureka*, purporting "to have been written in the year *two thousand eight hundred and forty-eight*," Poe ridicules the idea that deductive and inductive reasoning, "the Aristotelian and Baconian roads are, and of right ought to be, the sole possible avenues to knowledge."¹⁴⁷ Again he complains that these are "two narrow and crooked paths—the one of creeping and the other of crawling—to which, in their ignorant perversity, they have dared to confine the Soul—

¹⁴⁵*The Statesman's Manual: A Lay Sermon*, published with the *Biographia Literaria*, p. 321.

¹⁴⁶*Table Talk*, pp. 114–115. For other references to Kepler, see *The Friend*, p. 321; Allsop's *Recollections*, p. 68; and *Hints Towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life*, p. 31. Poe mentions Kepler frequently. Tycho Brahe is also mentioned by Coleridge in *The Friend*, p. 363, and of course figures prominently in Poe's *Al Aaraaf*.

¹⁴⁷*Eureka*, Vol. XVI, p. 189.

the Soul which loves nothing so well as to soar in those regions of illimitable intuition which are utterly incognizant of 'path'."¹⁴⁸ In a foreword Poe dedicates *Eureka* "to the dreamers and those who put faith in dreams as in the only realities," with the confident statement, "*What I here propound is true.*"

I do not propose to go into Coleridge's "Dynamic Philosophy," which doubtless was largely borrowed. If it had any influence on Poe, and I think it had, the influence was Coleridge's, however, and not Schelling's or Plato's. The following ideas will suggest how it is related to Poe's fragmentary ideas. According to Coleridge, "truth is the correlative to being." Truth may be mediate (derived from other truths), or immediate and original. We must seek for "some absolute truth . . . self-grounded, unconditional," to which other truths may be referred. He finds this in the identity of subject and object, which is the self, or self-consciousness. His argument is, "*Sum, I am; sum quia sum; sum quia Deus est, or sum quia in Deo sum.*" Continuing, he says: "If therefore this be the one only immediate truth, in the certainty of which the reality of our collective knowledge is grounded, it must follow that the spirit in all the objects which it views, views only itself. If this could be proved, the immediate reality of all intuitive knowledge would be assured."¹⁴⁹ He arrives finally at the conclusion that "intelligence is a self-development," and reduces it, for philosophic construction, to "the idea of an indestructible power with two opposite and counteracting forces, which by a metaphor borrowed from astronomy, we may call the centrifugal and centripedal (*sic*)." He then adds: "It will be hereafter my business to construct by a series of intuitions the progressive schemes that must follow from such a power with such forces, till I arrive at the fulness of the human intelligence."¹⁵⁰ From this point he goes on to discuss the nature of imagination, which, as

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁴⁹*Biographia Literaria*, pp. 128-131.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 134.

he says, is the creative power of the human mind which corresponds to the creative power of God. The promise of a work based on intuition was fulfilled in an essay, published in 1848, called *Hints Towards a More Comprehensive Theory of Life*, which is, in fact, an account of the creative or "imaginative" power of the "infinite I Am" functioning in the natural world.

There remains but one problem and I shall have finished. This is the problem of the source or sources of Poe's *Eureka*. He may have developed the theory explained in that essay from various studies in the astronomical speculation and discovery of Laplace and others. But his nebular hypothesis was much more far reaching than that of the astronomers, and had, moreover, a distinctly "transcendental" aspect. I shall here make no general investigation of the sources of *Eureka*, contenting myself with pointing out certain striking resemblances between its theories and those of Coleridge. As early as 1841 Poe shows special interest in the problem of cosmogony. The only irrefutable argument for the soul's immortality, he says at this time,—

or rather, the only conclusive proof of man's alternate dissolution and rejuvenescence *ad infinitum*—is to be found in analogies deduced from the modern established theory of the nebular cosmogony.¹⁵¹

The following passage from a letter to Lowell, July 2, 1844, further develops the idea suggested in the review:

Matter without atom or division is God, and its activity is the thought of God, and the individualizing of this activity forms intelligent creatures. It thus comes about that man is individualized by his material body; that when we die we merely undergo a change. The worm becomes the butterfly. The stars are the homes of such beings as death produces among us; and the unbodied individual, with power of motion, action, and knowledge, is visible to a sleep-waker.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹Review of Macaulay's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, *Graham's Magazine*, June, 1841 (*Works*, Vol. X, pp. 159-160).

¹⁵²*Works*, Vol. XVII, pp. 182-184.

These ideas are set forth at length in *Mesmeric Revelation* (1844), which for a time he considered more important than *The Fall of the House of Usher*.¹⁵³

Eureka is Poe's attempt to explain the universe, material and spiritual. It is a queer mixture of mathematical calculation and transcendental speculation. He begins his treatise, as I have said, with the assertion that intuition is a surer road to truth than either induction or deduction. His theory may be briefly summarized as follows. There are two contending forces in the universe, attraction, or gravitation, and repulsion, or electricity. Gravitation is the physical principle, and electricity is the spiritual principle. Matter exists only by reason of the conflict of these two forces, and through matter spirit is individualized, reaching its highest development in the conscious intelligence of man. Originally God existed in spirit only and individually. Now He exists variously in the diffused matter and spirit of the universe. The diffusion originates in the Thought of God; but when diffusion is completed, God's Thought is withdrawn. Then commences the reaction, and the consequent conflict of the powers of attraction and repulsion.

The thought of God is to be understood as originating the Diffusion as proceeding with it—as regulating it—and, finally, as being withdrawn from it upon its completion. Then commences Reaction, and through Reaction, "Principle," as we employ the word. It will be advisable, however, to limit the application of this word to the two *immediate* results of the discontinuance of the Divine Volition—that is, to the two agents, *Attraction* and *Repulsion*.¹⁵⁴

Eventually, by its tendency to draw to a single center, matter and spirit will be perfectly unified again.

The absolutely consolidated globe of globes would be *objectless*,—therefore not for a moment could it continue to exist. Matter, created for an end, would unquestionably, on fulfilment of that end, be matter

¹⁵³See Poe's letter to Griswold, February 24, 1845 (*Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 201).

¹⁵⁴*Eureka*, *Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 238.

no longer. Let us endeavor to understand that it would disappear, and that God would remain all in all.¹⁵⁵

Conflict having ceased, with the consequent annihilation of matter as such, God, now existing variously as matter and spirit, will be again as He was at first, purely spiritual and individual—that is to say, Unity.

God—the material *and* spiritual God—*now* exists solely in the diffused Matter and Spirit of the Universe; and . . . the regathering of this diffused Matter and Spirit will be but the re-constitution of the *purely* Spiritual and Individual God.¹⁵⁶

Eventually the “inconceivably numerous things which you designate as his creatures, but which are really but infinite individualizations of Himself,”¹⁵⁷ will become blended into one, and then will commence a new diffusion and a new cycle of life.

Think that the sense of individual identity will be gradually merged in the general consciousness—that Man, for example, ceasing imperceptibly to feel himself Man, will at length attain that awfully triumphant epoch when he shall recognize his existence as that of Jehovah. In the meantime bear in mind that all is Life—Life—Life within Life—the less within the greater, and all within the *Spirit* Divine.¹⁵⁸

For purposes of comparison let me now summarize with like brevity the significant ideas of Coleridge’s posthumous essay, *Hints Towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life*. To begin with, he objects to the division “of all that surrounds us into things with life, and things without life” as an “arbitrary assumption.”¹⁵⁹ He himself defines life as “*the principle of individuation, or the power which unites a given all into a whole that is pre-supposed by all its parts.*”¹⁶⁰ The mere act of growth,

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 309.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 313.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁵⁹*Theory of Life*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 42.

then, does not constitute the idea of life; in fact, he conceives of metals as having a low order of life, as evidenced by the irritability which they manifest to galvanism.¹⁶¹ After establishing the tendency to individuation, he finds that the law or most general form under which this tendency acts is "*polarity*," or the essential dualism of Nature, arising out of its productive unity, and still tending to reaffirm it, either as equilibrium, indifference, or identity."¹⁶² He affirms that the "one great end of Nature, her ultimate object, is a tendency to the ultimate production of the highest and most comprehensive individuality."¹⁶³ Continuing, he says:

Life, then, we consider as the copula, or the unity of thesis and antithesis, position and counterposition,—Life itself being the positive of both; as, on the other hand, the two counterpoints are the necessary conditions of the *manifestations of Life*. These, by the same necessity, unite in a synthesis; which again, by the law of dualism, essential to all actual existence, expands, or *produces* itself, from the point into the *line*, in order to again converge, as the initiation of the same productive process in some intenser form of reality. Thus, in the identity of the two counter-powers, Life *subsists*; in their strife, it *consists*; and in their reconciliation it at once dies and is born again into a new form, either falling back into the life of the whole, or starting anew in the process of individuation.¹⁶⁴

Here we find a suggestion of the cyclic process of creation and annihilation of matter and life which Poe likens to the rhythmic throb of the Heart Divine. In the following passage we have precisely Poe's idea of creation through the conflicting powers of attraction and repulsion:

If we pass to the construction of matter, we find it as the product, or *tertium aliud*, of antagonist powers of repulsion and attraction. Remove these powers, and the conception of matter vanishes into space—conceive repulsion only, and you have the same result. For infinite repulsion, uncounteracted and alone, is tantamount to infinite, dimensionless diffusion, and this again to infinite weakness; viz.,

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 50–51.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 51–52.

to space. Conceive attraction alone, and as an infinite contraction, its product amounts to the absolute point, viz., to time.¹⁶⁵

Coleridge objects to Milton's idea of a heterogeneous chaos, adding:

The requisite and only serviceable fiction, therefore, is the representation of Chaos as one vast homogeneous drop! In this sense it may be even justified, as an appropriate symbol of the great fundamental truth that all things spring from, and subsist in, the endless strife between indifference and difference.¹⁶⁶

Here is a suggestion of Poe's definition of spirit or God in unity as unparticled matter.

Coleridge's work was published in 1848, but whether early or late, I do not know. His bibliographer says that "in some copies, evidently the latest issued, the recto of the final blank leaf carries the following *Postscript*." This postscript bears the date October 17, 1848.¹⁶⁷ The postscript itself is unimportant here.

Eureka was published in March, 1848.¹⁶⁸ It is hardly possible, therefore, that Poe could have derived much benefit from the *Theory of Life*, supposing that he had an opportunity to read it. Yet he might have been influenced materially by Coleridge without having read his *Theory of Life*, for the germ from which this essay grew is to be found in the *Biographia Literaria*. I have already quoted the passage which defines intelligence as "an indestructible power with two opposite and counteracting forces."¹⁶⁹ In another place Coleridge says more specifically:

Grant me a nature having two contrary forces, the one of which tends to expand indefinitely, while the other strives to apprehend or find itself in this infinity, and I will cause the world of intelligences with the whole system of their representations to rise up before you.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁶⁷Thomas J. Wise: *A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1913), pp. 164-165.

¹⁶⁸See Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, Vol. II, p. 744.

¹⁶⁹*Biographia Literaria*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 140.

Further he says that

as something must be the result of these two forces, both alike infinite, and both alike indestructible; and as rest or neutralization cannot be this result; no other conception is possible, but that the product must be a *tertium aliquid*, or finite generation. Consequently this conception is necessary. Now this *tertium aliquid* can be no other than an inter-penetration of the counteracting powers, partaking of both.¹⁷¹

These passages alone, with their connotation, might have been sufficient to set Poe to work on a train of thinking that would produce such a theory as that of *Eureka*.¹⁷²

It is hardly necessary to add a formal conclusion. I have tried to collect and reduce to some order, not indeed all, but a representative body of reliable material on the basis of which each reader may judge the extent of Poe's debt to Coleridge. My object, as I have already intimated, was not to discredit Poe's intellectual achievement or to attack his reputation for originality; and if my labors help others as they have helped me to a better understanding of Poe and his work, I shall consider them well repaid. Perhaps, however, I ought to state my own opinion. It is that Poe was more deeply indebted to Coleridge in criticism and in speculative thought than has generally been supposed. In poetry the influence of Coleridge may easily be overestimated, and has been, perhaps, at times. On the whole, I agree with Professor Woodberry's original opinion that Coleridge was "the guiding genius of Poe's entire intellectual life," and regret that he later substituted "early" for "entire."

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁷²I am aware that Coleridge's ideas were mostly borrowed; I am not now concerned with that problem. I submit, however, that if Poe, too, borrowed, it is highly improbable that he overlooked whatever of interest or value might be found in Coleridge.

NOTES ON POE'S SOURCES

By LUCILLE KING

1. No one, I believe, has called attention to the parallel between the incident related of a "Mr. Stapleton" in Poe's "The Premature Burial"¹ and a story published in *Blackwood's* for October, 1821, entitled "The Buried Alive."² But the resemblances are so marked as to beget the belief that they are not merely a matter of coincidence. In both stories the body of the dead hero is disinterred for dissection by physicians. In both stories a galvanic battery is applied to the corpse, with the result that animation is restored. In each the subject is represented as having been conscious of all that went on while in the hands of the physicians.

That Poe went to *Blackwood's* for material for some of his stories has long been known. The main incidents of "The Pit and the Pendulum" were drawn from the stories "The Man in the Bell"³ and "The Iron Shroud";⁴ and Dr. D. L. Clark has shown⁵ that other material for the story was suggested by another tale from *Blackwood's*, "The Involuntary Experimentalist."⁶ "The Man in the Bell" was also evidently the source of "A Predicament" and "The Devil in the Belfry." And Miss Margaret Alterton has suggested that it was "The Buried Alive" that Poe attempted to parody in his early tale "Loss of Breath."⁷ That he was acquainted with "The Buried Alive" is established by a reference to it in a letter that he wrote to T. W. White, recently published in part by Napier Wilt,⁸ and by a later

¹*Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, V, pp. 255 ff.

²*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, X, pp. 262 ff., October, 1821.

³*Ibid.*, X, pp. 373-5, November, 1821.

⁴*Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 364 ff., August, 1830.

⁵*Modern Language Notes*, XLIV, pp. 349 ff., June, 1929.

⁶*Blackwood's*, XLII, pp. 487 ff., October, 1837.

⁷"Origins of Poe's Critical Theory," *University of Iowa Studies*, II, No. 3, p. 11, April 15, 1925.

⁸*Modern Philology*, XXV, pp. 101 ff., August, 1927.

reference to it under the title "The Dead Alive" in "How to Write a Blackwood Article" (1838).⁹

2. Students of Poe have doubtless observed resemblances between "Metzengerstein" and Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*. There are four principal points of similarity which indicate an indebtedness to Walpole's novel: the Gothic castle of romance, the prophecy, the animated picture, and the fall of the castle along with the extinction of the family. Walpole's castle was a feudal structure with towers, turrets, and all the panoply of chivalry. The palace of Metzengerstein is not pictured so elaborately, but it is pronounced to be the chief in point of splendor and extent of all the baron's innumerable castles. Of one of the rooms Poe writes:

... The young nobleman ... sat ... in a vast and desolate upper apartment of the family palace of Metzengerstein. The rich although faded tapestry hangings which swung gloomily upon the walls, represented the shadowy and majestic forms of a thousand illustrious ancestors.¹⁰

The prophecy in each story grows out of the enmity of one illustrious house for another. With Walpole it is prophesied that the Castle and Lordship of Otranto would pass from the family that then inhabited the castle whenever the real owner had grown too large to inhabit it. The prophecy in "Metzengerstein" is to the effect that a lofty name would fall "when, as the rider over his horse, the mortality of Metzengerstein shall triumph over the immortality of Berlitzing."¹¹

The animated pictures in both stories are likenesses of the heroes, in *The Castle of Otranto* the portrait being that of Manfred's grandfather, while in "Metzengerstein" the design on the tapestry is that of a former Metzengerstein plunging his dagger into the body of his rival, a Berlitzing. Frederick, Baron Metzengerstein, like Manfred, can scarcely withdraw his eyes from the tapestry.

⁹Poe's *Works*, II, p. 273.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, II, p. 188.

¹¹*Ibid.*, II, p. 186.

The fall of the Palace of Metzengerstein involves the extinction of the line of Metzengerstein. The destruction of Manfred's castle brings about a similar result, since Manfred and Hippolita, who are without living heirs, take on "the habit of religion."¹²

3. As a possible source of "Some Words With a Mummy"¹³ I wish to call attention to a tale entitled "Letter from a Revived Mummy," published in the New York *Evening Mirror*, January 21, 1832. In this story the mummy is represented as being an English soldier who has been "rendered insensible by a blow on the head" and preserved in the museum at Brussels for one hundred years, after which he is sent to New York. Poe's mummy has also been preserved in a museum, but for only eight years. Attempts at the revivification of the mummy described in the *Mirror* took three forms: "sweltering" before a hot fire of anthracite, enclosure in a hogshead of New England spirits, and the application of a galvanic battery. The experiment with the battery is so successful that at the third exhibition the mummy leaped to his feet, and "shouted hurrah for merry England! and darted forward as in the act of charging."¹⁴ The doctor in Poe's story also makes an experiment with the battery. Upon the first application of the galvanic wire, the mummy's eyelids close; upon the second, he kicks the doctor out of the window; and upon application of the battery a third time, the mummy opens his eyes, sneezes, sits up, shakes his fist at Doctor Ponnonner, and speaks "in very capital Egyptian."

The possibility that Poe had the "Letter from a Revived Mummy" in mind when writing his own story is strengthened by the fact that he had been employed in the office of the *Mirror* from the fall of 1844 until February, 1845,¹⁵

¹²*The Castle of Otranto*, ed. Montague Summers, p. 148.

¹³See for another suggestion Professor Killis Campbell's "The source of Poe's 'Some Words with a Mummy,'" *The Nation*, XC, pp. 625 f., June 23, 1910.

¹⁴New York *Evening Mirror*, IX, p. 227, January 21, 1832.

¹⁵Woodberry, George E., *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, II, pp. 101, 114.

and thus no doubt had access to the files of the paper. The very word "mummy" was associated in his mind with Egyptian mummies. This would explain his changing his chief character and his describing at length the case in which he was enclosed. Besides, with the instinct of the journalist, Poe wanted to take account of the contemporary interest in "Silk" Buckingham's exploration in Egypt.

4. A much more obvious source—or partial source—"Some Words with a Mummy" is furnished by two articles in the *Encyclopædia Americana*,¹⁶ from which Poe drew the materials for his description of the mummy and for his account of the processes of embalming. Here he transposes a sentence occasionally, but in a half a dozen paragraphs or more he employs the exact words of the original. To make the case more graphic, I arrange in parallel columns the passages involved, putting in italics the matter that Poe reproduces *verbatim*:

Poe's Works, VI, p. 117

It was one of a pair brought, several years previously, by Captain Arthur Sabretash, a cousin of Ponnonner's, from a tomb near *Eleithias*, in the *Lybian Mountains*, a considerable distance above *Thebes* on the *Nile*.

Poe's Works, VI, pp. 117f.

The grottoes at this point, *although less magnificent than the Theban sepulchres*, are of higher interest, on account of affording more numerous illustrations of the private life of the Egyptians.

Americana, IX, p. 89

Numerous caves or grottoes . . . are found in the two mountainous ridges which run nearly parallel with the *Nile* from Cairo to Syene. Some of the most remarkable of these tombs are those in the vicinity of ancient *Thebes*, in the *Lybian Mountains* . . . and those near *Eleithias*. . . farther up the river.

Americana, IX, p. 89

. . . which [tombs], *though less splendid than the Theban sepulchres*, contain more illustrations of the private life of the Egyptians.

¹⁶*Encyclopædia Americana*, Blanchard & Lea, Philadelphia, 1854. Entered, according to the act of Congress, in the year 1831, by Carey and Lea, in the clerk's office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 118

The chamber from which our specimen was taken, was said to be very rich in such illustrations; the walls being completely covered with fresco paintings and bas-reliefs, while statues, vases, and Mosaic work of rich patterns, indicated the vast wealth of the deceased.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 120

The brain it was customary to withdraw through the nose; the intestines through an incision in the side; the body was then shaved, washed, and salted; then laid aside for several weeks, when the operation of embalming, properly so called, began.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 118

The material was at first supposed to be the wood of the *sycamore* ("platanus"), but, upon cutting into it, we found it to be pasteboard, or, more properly, "papier mâché" composed of papyrus.¹⁷ It was thickly ornamented with paintings, representing funeral scenes, and other mournful subjects, interspersed among which, in every variety of position, were certain series of hieroglyphical characters intended, no doubt, for the name of the departed.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 119

The interval between the two [cases] was filled with resin.

Americana, IX, p. 89

The sepulchral chambers are almost entirely covered with fresco paintings and bass-reliefs, and frequently contain statues, vases, etc. . . . Those of private individuals vary according to the wealth of the deceased, but are often very richly ornamented.

Americana, IX, p. 89

Embalmers . . . extracted the brain through the nostril, and the entrails through an incision in the side; the body was then shaved, washed, and salted, and, after a certain period, the process of "embalming" (q. v.), properly speaking, began.

Americana, IX, p. 90

The coffin is usually of *sycamore*, cedar, or pasteboard; the case is entire, and covered, within and without, by paintings, representing funeral scenes, and a great variety of other subjects: the name of the deceased is also repeated on them in hieroglyphic characters.

Americana, IX, p. 89

. . . great numbers of the mummies [have been] destroyed for the rosin or asphaltum they contain.

¹⁷From the encyclopedia came also the idea of having a second case within the first, and a third, made of cedar, within the second: "The coffin is often enclosed in a second, and even third case" (p. 90).

Poe's Works, VI, p. 119

We had expected to find it, as usual, enveloped in frequent rolls, or *bandages*, of *linen*, but, in place of these, we found a sort of sheath, made of papyrus, and coated with a layer of plaster, thickly gilt and painted.¹⁸

Poe's Works, VI, p. 119

The *paintings* represented *subjects* connected with the various supposed *duties of the soul*, and *its presentation to different divinities*, with numerous identical human figures, intended, very probably, as portraits of the persons embalmed.¹⁹ Extending from head to foot, was a *columnar, or perpendicular inscription* in *phonetic hieroglyphics*, giving again his *name and titles*, and the *names and titles of his relations*.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 119

Around the neck thus ensheathed, was a *collar of cylindrical glass beads*, diverse in *color*, and so arranged as to form *images of deities, of the scarabaeus, etc.*, with the *winged globe*.

Poe's Works, VI, pp. 119f.

. . . we found the flesh in excellent *preservation*. . . The *color* [of the flesh] was *reddish*. . . The *teeth and hair* were in

Americana, IX, p. 89

The whole body was then . . . wrapped up in *linen bandages*. . . The *bandages* were then folded round each of the limbs, and finally round the whole body, to the number of 15-20 thicknesses.

Americana, IX, p. 89

These *paintings* represent *subjects* relating to the *duties of the soul, its presentation to the different divinities*, and a *perpendicular hieroglyphical inscription* in the centre gives the *name of the deceased, and of his relations, his titles, etc.*

Americana, IX, p. 89

A *collar of cylindrical glass beads* of different *colors*, is attached to the mask. . . The beads . . . are so arranged as to form *images of divinities, of the scarabaeus, the winged globe, etc.*

Americana, IX, p. 90

Those [mummies] prepared with asphalt are of a *reddish color*, and are in good *preservation*.

¹⁸In the *Americana* (p. 89) the statement is made that "the whole [head] was then coated with a fine plaster."

¹⁹The idea of the portrait of the mummy was probably suggested by the *Americana* (p. 90): "The cover . . . contains, too, the countenance of the deceased in relief, painted, and often gilded."

good condition. . . . The *finger and toe nails* were brilliantly gilded.

Americana, IX, p. 89

. . . the *teeth and hair* are generally preserved . . . each *finger and toe* was separately enveloped, or sometimes sheathed in a gold case, and the *nails* were often gilded.

Poe's Works, VI, p. 120

Mr. Glidden was of opinion . . . that the embalment had been effected altogether by *asphaltum*; but, on . . . throwing *into the fire* some of the powder . . ., the flavor of camphor and other sweet-scented *gums* became apparent.

Americana, IX, p. 89

. . . aromatic gums or *asphaltum* were used (the *gums*, when thrown *into the fire*, give out an aromatic odor).

For some of the material used in his account of Egyptian embalming Poe drew, in like manner, from another article in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, the article on "Embalming," to which a cross reference is made in the article on "Mummies." In Poe's version Count Allamistakeo declares that " 'in my time we employed scarcely anything else than the Bichloride of Mercury.' " ²⁰ In the fourth volume of the *Americana* is the apparent source of the Count's statement: "The impregnation is performed by the injection of a strong solution, consisting of about four ounces of bichloride of mercury to a pint of alcohol, into the blood-vessels." ²¹

²⁰*Poe's Works*, V, p. 127.

²¹"Embalming," *Encyclopædia Americana*, IV, p. 487.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON POE'S ORIGINS

BY ROBERT LEE RHEA

1. For such knowledge as we possess of Poe's origins, our chief debt is to the late Professor George E. Woodberry. He first drew attention to a number of Poe's sources, particularly of his stories, in his life of Poe;¹ and later in his appendices of the edition of Poe's works, which he brought out in collaboration with E. C. Stedman, he pointed out still other sources.² Among the suggestions that he makes with reference to the sources of Poe's *Arthur Gordon Pym* is that the poet borrowed freely from Captain Morrell's *Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Seas and Pacific, 1822-1831*,³ a suggestion which he justifies by citing parallel passages from the two. He also suggests that Poe had capitalized in connection with his story the popular interest centering about his friend, J. N. Reynolds, who had been the chief projector of an expedition to the South Seas in 1836. He does not reveal the fact, however, that Poe had borrowed freely for his story from an address that Reynolds made in the Hall of Representatives concerning this expedition in 1836."⁴ I cite below some of the passages in Poe's story which are evidently drawn from Reynolds's *Address*, placing side by side with them the corresponding passages in *Arthur Gordon Pym*.

*Reynolds*⁵

In the year 1772, Captain Cook, in the Resolution, accompanied by Lieutenant Freneau, in the

*Poe*⁶

That of Captain Cook was the first of which we have any distinct account. In 1772 he sailed

¹Edgar Allan Poe, Boston, 1885, pp. 33, 49, 106, and *passim*.

²Poe's Works, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, IV, pp. 295-297; V, pp. 355-361.

³*Ibid.*, V, p. 356.

⁴Reynolds, J. N., *An Address on the Subject of a Surveying Exploring Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and South Seas*, New York, 1836, pp. 90-96.

⁵*Address*, pp. 90-96.

⁶*Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Harrison, III, pp. 165-168.

Reynolds

Adventure, embarked on his first voyage in search of a southern continent. Having, in December, attained the *fifty-eighth* degree of south latitude, in longitude $26^{\circ} 27'$ east, he fell in with narrow fields of ice, running north-west and south-east, from six to eight inches in thickness, and appearing to have been formed in bays or rivers. This ice was in large flat pieces, and, in some instances, packed so closely, that the vessels, with difficulty, passed through it. Here were seen great numbers of penguins, which, with other coinciding circumstances, induced the supposition of land being in the vicinity. This opinion was afterwards shown to be erroneous, the ice proving to be unattached to any shore. In latitude $61^{\circ} 12'$, the voyagers met with considerable ice-islands, many of which were passed unseen, by reason of the thick haze. Three degrees further south, in longitude $38^{\circ} 14' E.$, they had mild weather, with gentle gales, for five days; thermometer thirty-six, and prevalent winds east and east by south. In January, 1773, they crossed the Antarctic circle in latitude $66^{\circ} 36' 30''$; and, on reaching latitude $67^{\circ} 15'$, found the ice closed the whole extent, from east to west-southwest, and no indication of an opening. This immense area was filled with ice of different kinds, high hills, broken masses compactly pressed together, and field ice. A float of the latter, to the south-east, appeared sixteen or eighteen feet

Poe

to the south in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Lieutenant Furneaux in the *Adventure*. In December he found himself as far as the *fifty-eighth* parallel of south latitude, and in longitude $26^{\circ} 57' E.$ Here he met with narrow fields of ice, about eight or ten inches thick, and running northwest and southeast. This ice was in large cakes, and usually it was packed so closely that the vessels had great difficulty in forcing a passage. At this period Captain Cook supposed, from the vast number of birds to be seen, and from other indications, that he was in the near vicinity of land. He kept on to the southward, the weather being exceedingly cold, until he reached the sixty-fourth parallel, in longitude $38^{\circ} 14' E.$ Here he had mild weather, with gentle breezes, for five days, the thermometer being at thirty-six. In January, 1773, the vessels crossed the Antarctic circle, but did not succeed in penetrating much farther; for, upon reaching latitude $67^{\circ} 15'$, they found all farther progress impeded by an immense body of ice, extending all along the southern horizon as far as the eye could reach. This ice was of every variety—and some large floes of it, miles in extent, formed a compact mass, rising eighteen or twenty feet above the water. It being late in the season, and no hope entertained of rounding these obstruction Captain Cook now reluctantly turned to the northward.

Reynolds

above the water, and its extremities could not be seen from the mast head. As the summer of that region was nearly half spent, and it would have taken some time, even if practicable at all, to get round the ice, Captain Cook determined to retrograde. He accordingly sailed to the northward. . . .

On the 26th of November, 1773, Captain Cook left New Zealand, on his second search for southern lands. In latitude $59^{\circ} 40'$ he met with a southerly current. In December, being in latitude $67^{\circ} 31'$, longitude $142^{\circ} 54'$ W., the cold was intense, with a hard gale and a heavy fog; thermometer thirty to thirty-one at noon. Continual daylight, except when obscured by thick vapours. Albatrosses, penguins, and petrels, in great numbers here. In latitude $70^{\circ} 23'$, the navigators met with islands of ice, three or four miles in circumference, and, shortly thereafter, observed that the clouds in the southern horizon were of a snowy white, and of unusual brightness, appearances which were known to announce the approach to field ice. On reaching latitude $71^{\circ} 10'$, in longitude $106^{\circ} 54'$ W., the extreme point of their voyage, they came upon the edge of an immense frozen expanse, which filled the whole area of the southern horizon, and illumined the air to a considerable height with the rays of light reflected from its surface. In the back ground the ice rose in ridges, like chains of mountains, one above another, till

Poe

In the November following he renewed his search in the Antarctic. In latitude $59^{\circ} 40'$ he met with a strong current setting to the southward. In December, when the vessels were in latitude $67^{\circ} 31'$, longitude $142^{\circ} 54'$ W., the cold was excessive, with heavy gales and fog. Here also birds were abundant: the albatross, the penguin, and the petrel especially. In latitude $70^{\circ} 23'$ some large islands of ice were encountered, and shortly afterward, the clouds to the southward were observed to be of a snowy whiteness, indicating the vicinity of field ice. In latitude $71^{\circ} 10'$, longitude $106^{\circ} 54'$ W., the navigators were stopped, as before, by an immense frozen expanse, which filled the whole area of the southern horizon. The northern edge of this expanse was ragged and broken, so firmly wedged together as to be utterly impassable, and extending about a mile to the southward. Behind it the frozen surface was comparatively smooth for some distance, until terminated in the extreme background by gigantic ranges of ice mountains, the one towering above the other. Captain Cook concluded that this vast field reached the

Reynolds

lost in the clouds. Of these ridges they counted ninety-seven. The outer, or northern edge of this gigantic field, was broken ice, *firmly wedged together*, and *impassable*. This fringe was about a mile in breadth, and within it was the solid ice, which was low and flat, with the exception of the mountains before alluded to. It was *Captain Cook's* opinion, that this mighty mass of crystallization extended to *the Pole*; or *was joined to* some land southward. . . .

We are not surprised that Cook was unable to go beyond $71^{\circ} 10'$, but we are astonished that he did attain that point on the meridian $106^{\circ} 54'$ west longitude. Palmer's Land lies south of the Shetland, latitude 64° , and tends to the southward and westward, further than any navigator has yet penetrated. Cook was standing for this land when his progress was arrested by the ice; which, we apprehend, must always be the case in that point, and so early in the season as the 6th of January;—and we should not be surprised if a portion of the icy mountains described was attached to the main body of Palmer's Land, or to some other detached portions of land lying further to the southward and westward.

Captains Kruzenstern and Urey Lisiansky, who were sent out to circumnavigate the globe by *Alexander I, of Russia*, in 1803, did not reach a higher degree of

Poe

southern pole or *was joined to* a continent.

"We are not surprised that Captain Cook was unable to go beyond $71^{\circ} 10'$, but we are astonished that he did attain that point on the meridian $106^{\circ} 54'$ west longitude. Palmer's Land lies south of the Shetland, latitude sixty-four degrees, and tends to the southward and westward farther than any navigator has yet penetrated. Cook was standing for this land when his progress was arrested by the ice; which, we apprehend, must always be the case in that point, and so early in the season as the sixth of January—and we should not be surprised if a portion of the icy mountain described was attached to the main body of Palmer's Land, or to some other portion of land lying farther to the southward and westward."

In 1803, *Captains Kreutzenstern and Lisiansky* were despatched by *Alexander of Russia* for the purpose of circumnavigating the globe. In endeavouring

Reynolds

south latitude than $59^{\circ} 58'$ in longitude $70^{\circ} 15' W.$, when they met with currents setting strongly towards the east. In this latitude, Kruzenstern speaks of whales being in great abundance, but does not mention having seen any ice;—this was in March.

Had Kruzenstern continued his course south, he would have made the south-westerly portion of the Shetland Islands, and afterwards Palmer's Land. Had he been earlier in the season, he must have encountered ice. The winds prevailing as they do, from the southward and westward, had carried it, aided by currents, into that icy region, bounded on the north by Georgia, east by Sandwich Land and South Orkneys, and west by the South Shetland Islands.

The testimony of Weddell, who pierced to the highest parallel of south latitude known to have been attained by man, is decidedly at variance with the opinion of Captain Cook, respecting the extent of impenetrable ice to the South Pole. Mr. Weddell, although his two frail barks were often beset by towering icebergs, and placed in imminent danger, does not appear to have encountered, indeed his vessels could not have withstood, the impediments opposed to northern navigators in similar latitudes. Nothing can be more encouraging than this gentleman's statements, to those who hold the belief that the Pole can be attained. He records the extraordinary facts

Poe

to get south, they made no farther than $59^{\circ} 58'$, in longitude $70^{\circ} 15' W.$ They here met with strong currents setting eastwardly. Whales were abundant, but they saw no ice. . . .

In regard to this voyage, Mr. Reynolds observes that, if Kruzenstern had arrived where he did earlier in the season, he must have encountered ice—it was March when he reached the latitude specified. The winds prevailing, as they do, from the southward and the westward, had carried the floes, aided by currents, into that icy region bounded on the north by Georgia, east by Sandwich Land and the South Orkneys, and west by the South Shetland Islands.

In 1882, Captain James Weddell, of the British navy, with two very small vessels, penetrated farther to the south than any previous navigator, and this too, without encountering extraordinary difficulties. He states that although he was frequently hemmed in by ice before reaching the seventy-second parallel, yet, upon attaining it, not a particle was to be discovered, and that, upon arriving at the latitude of $74^{\circ} 15'$, no fields, and only three islands of ice were visible.

Reynolds

that, after having been almost hemmed in by ice in far lower parallels, in latitude $72^{\circ} 28'$, not a single particle was to be seen; and, that in the unprecedentedly high latitude of $74^{\circ} 15'$, no fields, and only three islands, of ice were visible. Flights of innumerable birds were here seen.

Weddell discourages the idea of land existing in the polar regions of the south, and the facts he has given us are calculated to strengthen such a supposition. He distinctly states that he saw *unknown coasts south of the Shetlands, tending southerly in about latitude 64°* ; although from that point to the highest to which he explored, he recognised no other indications of land.

The circumstances to which we allude . . . is the discovery made by Captain Briscoe of the brig *Lively*, accompanied by cutter *Tula*, in 1831-2. Captain Briscoe, who was in the employ of Messrs. Enderby, extensive whale-ship owners of London, on the 28th of February, being in latitude about $66^{\circ} 30' S.$, longitude $47^{\circ} 31' E.$, descried land, and clearly discovered through the snow, the black peaks of a range of mountains running E.S.E. During the following month he remained on the newly discovered coast; but, from the state of the weather and the ice, was unable to approach it nearer than with-

Poe⁷

It is somewhat remarkable that, although vast flocks of birds were seen, and other usual indications of land, and although, south of the Shetlands, unknown coasts were observed from the masthead tending southwardly, Weddell discourages the idea of land existing in the polar regions of the south. . . .

In 1831, Captain Briscoe, in the employ of Messieurs Enderby, whale-ship owners of London, sailed in the brig *Lively* for the South Seas, accompanied by the cutter *Tula*. On the twenty-eighth of February, being in latitude $66^{\circ} 30' S.$, longitude $47^{\circ} 13' E.$, he descried land, and "clearly discovered through the snow the black peaks of a range of mountains running E.S.E." He remained in this neighborhood during the whole of the following month, but was unable to approach the coast nearer than within ten leagues, owing to the boisterous state of the weather. Finding it impossible to make

⁷Poe's *Works*, ed. Harrison, III, pp. 170-171.

Reynolds

in thirty miles. An extent of about three hundred miles of shore was seen. The sickness of the Lively's crew induced her commander to seek a warmer climate, and he returned north, to winter in Van Dieman's Land, where he was rejoined by the cutter, which had been separated from her consort in a storm.

In the beginning of 1832, Briscoe again proceeded southward, and on the 4th of February observed land to the southeast, in latitude $67^{\circ} 15'$, longitude $69^{\circ} 29' W.$, which he found to be an island near the headland of what he considers may yet be designated the southern continent. On the 21st he landed in a spacious bay in the main land, and took possession in the name of his sovereign, William IV. The island he named Adelaide's island, in honour of the English queen. The log and other particulars of this discovery were laid before the Royal Geographical Society of London; from all of which the conclusion was drawn, that there is a continuous body of land extending from $47^{\circ} 30' E.$, to $69^{\circ} 29'$ west longitude, running the parallel of from $66^{\circ} 67'$ south latitude.

Now, in the correctness of these conclusions we by no means concur; nor do the discoveries of Briscoe warrant any such inference. It was within these limits that Weddell proceeded south, on a meridian to the east of Georgia, Sandwich Land, and the South

Poe

farther discovery during this season, he returned northward to winter in Van Dieman's Land.

In the beginning of 1832 he again proceeded southwardly, and on the fourth of February land was seen to the southeast in latitude $67^{\circ} 15'$, longitude $69^{\circ} 29' W.$ This was soon found to be an island near the headland of the country he had first discovered. On the twenty-first of the month he succeeded in landing on the latter, and took possession of it in the name of William IV., calling it Adelaide's Island, in honour of the English queen. These particulars being made known to the Royal Geographical Society of London, the conclusion was drawn by that body "that there is a continuous tract of land extending from $47^{\circ} 30' E.$, to $69^{\circ} 29' W.$, longitude, running the parallel of from sixty-six to sixty-seven degrees south latitude." In respect to this conclusion Mr. Reynolds observes, "In the correctness of it we by no means concur; nor do the discoveries of Briscoe warrant any such inference. It was within these limits that Weddell proceeded south on a meridian to the east of Georgia, Sandwich Land, and the South Orkney and

Reynolds

Orkney and Shetland Islands. Nor were his last discoveries new. The main land, taken possession of in the name of his sovereign, was visited fifteen years ago by our own sealers, and taken possession of (at least some fur) in the name of *our sovereign, the people*; and when a true record shall be made up of the past discoveries in this portion of the South Seas, the name of Adelaide's island must be changed; and the wreath of crystal gems, intended for the brows of majesty, will be found to belong to one of Nature's pretty little queens, of whom we have so many on this side of the Atlantic! We have a long, running, unsettled account in this matter of giving names to places, with some of our neighbors, which we may as well begin to have posted up, for the purpose of preventing future disputes.

Poe

Shetland Islands." My own experience will be found to testify most directly to the falsity of the conclusion arrived at by the society.

In tracing on a chart the few attempts which have been made to reach a high latitude, it will be seen that the circumnavigation of the southern hemisphere will not, at most, bear an average of more than 58° south latitude,—which leaves, with the exception of Weddell's track, about 300° of longitude, in which the Antarctic circle has not been crossed! . . .

These are the principal attempts which have been made at penetrating to a *high southern latitude*, and it will be seen that there remained, previous to the voyage of the Jane, nearly *three hundred degrees of longitude in which the Antarctic circle had not been crossed* at all. Of course a wide field lay before us for discovery, and it was with feelings of most intense interest that I heard Captain Guy express

Reynolds

With such a wide field before us, and such a noble theatre whereon to contend for mastery with the nations of the earth; now that the cloud which has so long hung in our political horizon, and threatened to darken the heavens, and crimson the ocean with blood, has passed away, leaving the glorious sunshine of peace to our land; and now when the treasury is full to overflowing, we confidently indulge the hope that this measure will be sanctioned without further delay.

Poe

his resolution of pushing boldly to the southward.

The nature and extent of Poe's borrowing here are obvious. He had merely done in the case of Reynolds's *Address* what he had also done in the same story in extracting material from Morrell's *Voyages*.⁸ All told, Poe had, in the present instance, carried over from Reynolds's *Address* some seven hundred words out of a total of some fifteen hundred in the original. Poe had reviewed this *Address* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in January, 1837.⁹

2. Poe seems, likewise, to have drawn from Reynolds's *Address* the name of Pym's companion, Augustus Barnard, in his *Arthur Gordon Pym*; for Reynolds uses the same name ("Captain" Edward C. Barnard) in a passage¹⁰ close to those on which he drew for the passages that I have assembled above. And it is possible that he owed to Reynolds's *Address* the suggestion for the episode in which the Jane Guy's crew, with the exception of Pym and Peters, were treacherously slain by savages. In the *Address*¹¹ an excerpt from the *Nantucket Enquirer* relates how Captain Coffin and a large number of his crew were treacherously

⁸*Poe's Works*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, V, pp. 355-356.

⁹*Southern Literary Messenger*, III, pp. 68-72; *Poe's Works*, ed. Harrison, IX, pp. 84 f.

¹⁰*Address*, p. 54.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 47, note.

murdered at the Feejee Islands by natives who had come on board with friendly intent. Furthermore, an account of the murder of the crew on the ship *Chinchilla*,¹² engaged in taking *biche-le-mer*, as was the crew of the *Jane Guy* in Poe's story, and of the slaughter of the crew on the ship *Oldham*, possibly had some influence on the same episode.

3. Another probable source of *Pym* is Captain Cook's *Voyages*. Poe seems to have drawn on Cook's account or some abstract of the voyages for his lists of birds and fish. Of the following catalogue of birds which Captain Cook mentions in several places,¹³ all eleven reappear in one of Poe's lists of birds¹⁴: penguin, blue petrel, duck, Port Egmont hen, shag, sea-swallow, tern, sea-gull, Mother Carey's chicken, Mother Carey's goose, and the albatross. And all of the fish which Cook mentions¹⁵ (mackerel, blackfish, skate, conger eels, elephant-fish, mullets, soles, parrotfish, leather-jackets, gurnards, hake, flounders, and paracutas) reappear in Poe's story.¹⁶

It is worthy of note, moreover, that Poe's account of the taking on of fresh supplies by the crew of the *Jane Guy* to avoid scurvy bears a fairly close resemblance to Captain Cook's account. Poe writes:¹⁷

The savages brought us, upon our making them comprehend our wishes, a vast quantity of brown celery and scurvy-grass, with a canoe-load of fresh fish and some dried. The celery was a treat indeed, and the scurvy-grass proved of incalculable benefit in restoring those of our men who had shown symptoms of disease.

Pinkerton in his abstract of Cook's Second Voyage, writes:¹⁸

¹²*Address*, p. 46.

¹³Cook, Captain James, and King, Captain James, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, London, 1784, I, pp. 39, 45, 46, and *passim*.

¹⁴*Poe's Works*, III, p. 154.

¹⁵Cook and King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, I, pp. 56, 82.

¹⁶*Poe's Works*, III, p. 190.

¹⁷*Poe's Works*, III, p. 195.

¹⁸Pinkerton, John, *Voyages and Travels*, XI, p. 577.

Captain Cook, knowing that scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables were to be found in Queen Charlotte's Sound, went the morning after his arrival, at day-break, to look for some, and returned on board at breakfast with a boat-load. Being now satisfied, that enough was to be got for the crews of both ships, he gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast; and with pease and broth for dinner; knowing from experience, that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints.

4. I wish also to call attention here to a possible source, or partial source, of Poe's "Some Words With a Mummy."¹⁹ In *The Medical Repository* for 1820,²⁰ a medical journal, there appeared an account of the revival of a dead body by the use of a galvanic battery much as in Poe's story. I quote the passage in point:

On the 4th of November last, various galvanic experiments were made on the body of the murderer Clydsdale, by Dr. Ure, with a voltaic battery of 270 pair of four-inch plates. The results were truly appalling. On moving the rod from the hip to the heel, the knee being previously bent, the leg was thrown out with such violence as nearly to overturn one of the assistants, who in vain attempted to prevent its extension! In the second experiment the rod was applied to the phrenic nerve in the neck, when laborious breathing instantly commenced, the chest heaved and fell; the belly was protruded and collapsed, with the relaxing and retiring diaphragm; and it is thought, that but from the complete evacuation of the blood, pulsation might have occurred!! In the third experiment, the supra-orbital nerve was touched, when every muscle in the murderer's face "was thrown into fearful action." The scene was hideous—several of the spectators left the room, and one gentleman actually fainted, from terror or sickness!! In the fourth experiment the transmitting of the electrical power from the spinal marrow to the ulnar nerve, at the elbow, the fingers were instantly put in motion, and the agitation of the arm was so great that the corpse seemed to point at the different spectators, some of whom thought it had come to life! Dr. Ure appears to be of opinion, that had not incisions been made in the blood vessels of the neck, and the spinal marrow been lacerated, the criminal might have been restored to life.

In both accounts the application of the battery to the subject's leg causes it to straighten out with such force as

¹⁹*Poe's Works*, VI, pp. 116–138.

²⁰*The Medical Repository*, New Series, V, p. 109 (January, 1820).

to overturn one of the spectators of the experiment. When the battery is applied to the facial muscles of the mummy, it opens its eyes, winks very rapidly, sneezes, and shakes its fist in Dr. Ponnonner's face.²¹ In the article in the *Medical Repository* every muscle of the murderer's face "was thrown into fearful action." In both accounts, moreover, the effect of the experiment on the spectators is similar. In "Some Words with a Mummy" downright fear possessed the bystanders. "Dr. Ponnonner was a man to be pitied. Mr. Gliddon, by some peculiar process, rendered himself invisible. Mr. Silk Buckingham, I fancy, will scarcely be so bold as to deny that he made his way, upon all fours, under the table."²² In the medical account "the scene was hideous—several of the spectators left the room, and one gentleman actually fainted, from terror or sickness."

This view, I ought to add, does not necessarily contradict the suggestion made by Dr. Killis Campbell in *The Nation*²³ a number of years ago that Poe perhaps drew on R. M. Bird's *Sheppard Lee*, for he may have availed himself of materials from several similar sources. At least, it may be said that the account in *The Medical Repository* perhaps set Poe off on his story—or that it may have furnished Bird the hint for the account that he gives.

²¹*Poe's Works*, VI, p. 122.

²²*Poe's Works*, VI, p. 121.

²³*The Nation*, June 23, 1910, pp. 625–626.

A NOTE ON POE'S "JULIUS RODMAN"

BY H. ARLIN TURNER

More than one biographer of Poe has suggested that Poe owed something to Washington Irving. Woodberry, for instance, states that some of the details in *Arthur Gordon Pym* were suggested by Irving's *Astoria*,¹ and a similar observation is made by Hervey Allen.² It is certain that Poe knew some of Irving's writings; for although he wrote to N. C. Brooks in 1838 that he was not "conversant with Irving's writings" and that he had read "nothing of his since . . . a boy, save his *Granada*," he had in reality published a lengthy review of Irving's *Astoria* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1837. It is plain, too, that he had read Irving's *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* at some time before 1840, since in January of that year appeared the initial instalment of his *Journal of Julius Rodman*, to be followed by five other instalments in as many months, in several chapters of which he has clearly drawn on *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (1837) not only for the details of his story, but also at various points for the very language that he uses. I give below the passages in which he tracks Irving most closely, setting down in parallel columns the matter involved. I have put in italics the passages that are identical or virtually identical in phrase.

*Julius Rodman*³

The beavers were repairing a portion of their dam, and every step of their progress was distinctly seen. One by one the architects were perceived to approach the edge of the swamp, each with a small branch in his

*Bonneville's Adventures*⁴

In a little while, three others appeared at the head of the dam, bringing sticks and bushes. *With these they proceeded directly to the barrier*, which Captain Bonneville perceived was in need of repair. Having deposited their

¹Woodberry, G. E.: *Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston, 1909, I, pp. 191, 236.

²Allen, Hervey: *Israfel*, New York, 1927, II, pp. 419, 463.

³*Poe's Works*, ed. James A. Harrison, New York, 1902, III, pp. 49-50.

⁴Irving, Washington: *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Knickerbocker edition, New York, 1895, I, pp. 286-291.

Julius Rodman

mouth. *With this he proceeded to the dam, and placed it carefully and longitudinally, on the part which had given way. Having done this, he dived immediately, and in a few seconds reappeared above the surface with a quantity of stiff mud, which he first squeezed so as to drain it of its moisture in a great degree, and then applied with his feet and tail (using the latter as a trowel) to the branch which he had just laid upon the breach. He then made off among the trees, and was quickly succeeded by another of the community, who went through precisely the same operation. . . .*

This matter accomplished, the whole community seemed to think a holiday was deserved, and, ceasing work at once, began to chase each other about in the water, diving, and slapping the surface with their tails.

When at work some sat upon the hind legs, in the posture so common with squirrels, and gnawed at the wood, their forefeet resting upon the edge of the cut, and their heads thrust far into the aperture. . . .

*Captain Bonneville,*⁵ it will be remembered, *discredits the alleged*

Bonneville's Adventures

loads upon the broken part, they dived into the water, and shortly reappeared at the surface. Each now brought a quantity of mud, with which he would plaster the sticks and bushes just deposited. This kind of masonry continued for some time, repeated supplies of wood and mud being brought, and treated in the same manner. . . .

This done, the industrious beavers indulged in a little recreation, chasing each other about the pond, dodging and whisking about on the surface, or diving to the bottom; and in their frolic, often slapping their tails on the water with a loud clacking sound. . . .

He then climbed the bank close to where the captain was concealed, and, rearing himself on his hind quarters, in a sitting position, put his fore paws against a young pine tree, and began to cut the bark with his teeth. . . .

Captain Bonneville, however, *discredits, on the whole, the al-*

⁵By mentioning the name of Captain Bonneville at the beginning of this passage, which finds a closer parallel in *Bonneville's Adventures* than any of the others, Poe possibly intended to protect himself against the charge of plagiarism. However, he does not specifically mention the work by Irving.

Julius Rodman

sagacity of the animal in this respect, and thinks it has no farther aim than to get the tree down, without any subtle calculation in respect to its mode of descent. This attribute, he thinks, has been ascribed to it from the circumstance that trees in general, which grow near the margin of water, either lean bodily towards the stream, or stretch their most ponderous limbs in that direction, in search of the light, space and air, which are there usually found. The beaver, he says, attacks, of course, those trees which are nearest at hand, and on the banks of the stream or pond, and these, when cut through, naturally preponderate towards the water.

The principal food of the beavers is *bark*, and of this they put by regularly a large store for *winter provision*, selecting the proper kind with care and deliberation. A whole tribe, consisting sometimes of two or three hundred, will set out together upon a *foraging expedition*, and pass through groves of trees all apparently similar, until a particular one *suits* their fancy. This *they cut* down, and, breaking off its most tender branches, divide them into short slips of equal length and divest these slips of their *bark*, which they carry to the nearest stream leading to

Bonneville's Adventures

leged sagacity of the beaver in this particular, and thinks the animal has no other aim than to get the tree down, without any of the subtle calculation as to its mode or direction of falling. This attribute, he thinks, has been ascribed to them from the circumstances, that most trees growing near water-courses, either lean bodily towards the stream, or stretch their largest limbs in that direction, to benefit by the space, the light, and the air to be found there. The beaver, of course, attacks those trees which are nearest at hand, and on the banks of the stream or pond. He makes incisions round them, or, in technical phrase, belts them with his teeth, and when they fall, they *naturally* take the direction in which their trunks *preponderate*.

Great choice, according to the captain, is certainly displayed by the beaver in *selecting* the wood which is to furnish *bark* for *winter provision*. The whole beaver household, old and young, set out upon this business, and will often make long journeys before *suited*. Sometimes they cut down trees of the largest size and then cull the branches, the *bark* of which is most to their taste. These *they cut* into lengths of about three feet, convey them to the water, and *float* them to their lodges, where they are *stored away* for winter. They are studious of cleanliness and comfort

Julius Rodman

their village, thence *floating them* home. Occasionally the slips are *stored away for the winter* without being stripped of the *bark*; . . . they are careful to remove the refuse wood from their dwellings, as soon as *they have eaten the rind*, taking the sticks to some distance. During *the spring* of the year *the males* are never found with the tribe *at home*, but always by themselves, either singly or in parties of two or three, when they appear to lose their usual habits of sagacity, and fall an easy prey to the arts of the trapper. In *summer* they *return home*, and busy themselves, with the females, in making *provision for winter*. They are described as exceedingly ferocious animals when irritated.

The experienced trapper readily detects the presence of *beaver* in any pond or stream; discovering them by a thousand appearances which would afford no indication to the unpractised observer. . . . This is simply constructed to *catch the foot* of the animal. The trapper places it usually in some position near *the shore*, and just below the surface of the water, fastening it by a small chain to a pole stuck in the mud. In the mouth of the machine is placed one end of a small branch; the other end *rising above the surface*, and well soaked in the liquid bait whose odor is found to be *attractive* to the beaver. As soon as the animal scents it, he rubs *his nose* against the *twig*,

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in their lodges, and after their repasts, will carry out *the sticks* from which *they have eaten the bark*, and throw them into the current beyond the barrier. In *the spring*, which is the breeding season, *the male* leaves the female *at home*, and sets off on a tour of pleasure, rambling often to a great distance, recreating himself in every clear and quiet expanse of water on his way, and climbing the banks occasionally to feast upon the tender sprouts of the young willows. As *summer* advances, he gives up his bachelor rambles, and bethinking himself of housekeeping duties, *returns home* to his mate and his new progeny, and marshals them all for the *foraging expedition* in quest of *winter provisions*.

Practice . . . has given such a quickness of eye to *the experienced trapper* in all that relates to his pursuit, that he can *detect* the slightest sign of *beaver*, however wild. He now goes to work to set the trap; planting it upon *the shore*, in some chosen place, *two or three inches below the surface of the water*, and secures it by a chain to a pole set deep in the mud. A small twig is then stripped of its bark, and one end is dipped in the "medicine," as the trappers term the peculiar bait which they employ. This end of the stick *risks above the surface* of the water, the other end is planted between the jaws of the trap. The beaver possessing an acute sense of smell, is

Julius Rodman

and, in so doing, steps upon *the* trap, springs it, and is caught. . . .

Bonneville's Adventures

soon *attracted* by the odor of the bait. As he raises *his* nose toward it, his *foot* is caught in the trap.

Poe evidently wrote a number of these passages with his Irving open before him. His method of working with his sources in this instance is not unlike that adopted in the case of other borrowings made by him; as, for example, in his employment of Morrell's *Voyages* in his *Arthur Gordon Pym*⁴ and of Irving's *Astoria* in *Julius Rodman*.⁵

⁴Poe's *Works*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, New York, 1895, V, pp. 356-358.

⁵*Ibid.*, V, pp. 359-361.

A BIT OF CHIVERSIAN MYSTIFICATION

BY KILLIS CAMPBELL

When I brought out a dozen years ago an edition of Poe's poems, I included among the poems attributed to Poe some lines entitled "The Departed," beginning,

Where the river ever floweth,
Where the green grass ever groweth,¹

lines which had been published above the signature "L" in the *Broadway Journal* of July 12, 1845 (II, p. 7), but had been attributed to Poe by the Georgia poet Thomas Holley Chivers in an article in the *Waverley Magazine* of July 30, 1853 (p. 73). These lines "must have been written by Poe," declared Chivers. I have never believed the lines to be Poe's; but consistently with a policy which I felt to be defensible, I included among the poems attributed to Poe everything assigned to the poet which I could not at the time demonstrate to be the work of some one else. The lines seemed to me to be in the manner of Chivers (or of Henry B. Hirst or A. M. Ide, two other imitators of Poe, who were, like Chivers, melody-mad), and I so said in a note on the poem.² But Chivers had held that they were the work of Poe, and Chivers had been close to Poe; besides, Griswold had maintained that an article signed "L" and published in the *New World* on March 11, 1843, was the work of Poe, and Poe had signed several of his publications in the *Broadway Journal* with the *nom de plume* "Littleton Barry."

But be that as it may, I am now of the opinion that the author of "The Departed" was none other than Chivers himself, and that his attribution of the lines to another was made in a spirit of pique, or of jealousy of Poe, who had by this time achieved something of fame and who was, as Chivers believed, deeply indebted to him for what he had

¹See my edition of *Poe's Poems*, pp. 142-143.

²*Ibid.*, p. 302.

accomplished as a poet. Chivers's recent biographer, Mr. S. Foster Damon, is probably right in asserting that the Georgia poet was without a sense of humor³ and that he was exceptionally devoid of guile. But at least he was not above fibbing about his age, as Mr. Damon shows;⁴ and Mr. Damon admits that some of his statements as to time and place in other connections were "open to suspicion."⁵ In the series of articles published in the *Waverley Magazine*, most of them written in an attempt to show that Poe had pilfered on a large scale from his verses, Chivers writes, not under his own name, but under the pseudonym, "Fiat Justitia" (possibly indeed under two or more different pseudonyms),⁶ and hence was not above trying to mislead his readers. Besides, as I have already noted, Chivers was not guiltless of the sin of envy, as comes out very plainly in the series of articles in the *Waverley Magazine*. His attribution of "The Departed" to Poe is, then, in keeping with his attitude (if we may assume that I am correct in my surmise) to the poet at the time.

But besides the external and circumstantial evidence that I have just presented, there is a piece of internal evidence of a weightier nature. In a poem entitled "The Vigil in Aiden," a tribute to Poe's genius, published in 1850 in Chivers's strange volume *Eonchs of Ruby*, there are certain lines that approximate pretty closely certain lines in "The Departed," and which indicate that "The Vigil in Aiden" is, in part, but a reworking of "The Departed." I refer to the lines,

³Thomas Holley Chivers, *Friend of Poe*, New York, 1930, p. 201.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶See the suggestion of Joel Benton in his book *In the Poe Circle* (p. 40) that the pseudonym "Felix Forresti" used with one of the articles supporting Chivers in the controversy he had stirred up (*Waverley Magazine*, August 20, 1853) was in reality but another pen-name under which Chivers masked himself, and the further suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 47) that a later article signed "Philo Veritas" was possibly written by Chivers.

Lonely, by that lovely river,
Where the moon-lit blossoms quiver,
Do I wander on forever,⁷

and

Then beside the silent river
Where he wandered still forever
By her lonely grave that ever,⁸

the first three lines from "The Departed," and the other three from "The Vigil in Aiden." The approximation in phrasing, not to mention the similarity in rhythmical movement, between the two are sufficient, I believe, virtually to establish my guess that "The Departed" is, in reality, the work of Chivers. Like Poe, Chivers appears to have been given to revamping and republishing his verses; at least, he reworked very thoroughly, as Mr. Damon has shown,⁹ his play *Conrad and Eudora* (1834) and endeavored to publish the play in its revised form under the title *Leoni, or The Orphan of Venice* some five years later; and as Professor A. G. Newcomer long ago pointed out, he made similar revisions, though on a smaller scale, in certain poems republished in his *Memorialia*.¹⁰

It appears, then, that Chivers, who knew very well of Poe's fondness for mystification, has in this instance indulged in something of mystification on his own account,¹¹ though with more sinister intent than was ever the case with Poe.

⁷Lines 9-11 of "The Departed."

⁸*Eonchs of Ruby*, p. 8.

⁹*Op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰*Sewanee Review*, XII, p. 27 (January, 1904).

¹¹There is I grant, an alternative possibility; namely, that "The Departed" was composed by neither Poe nor Chivers, but that Chivers, with his mania for parroting Poe, borrowed the lines in question from "The Departed" in the honest belief that the poem was Poe's and that he was thus settling in some measure an old score with the author of "The Raven." But this seems to me extremely improbable.

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